THE PARTHENON

EVERYDAY LIFE IN ANCIENT GREECE

BY

C. E. ROBINSON

Assistant Master at Winchester College

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD

A Parallel Volume

EVERYDAY LIFE IN ROME

By H. A. TREBLE and K. M. KING. Pp. 160
with many illustrations

FIRST PUBLISHED 1933
REPRINTED, 1934, 1936, 1939

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

PREFACE

THERE is a story told of a certain English poet, who, as a undergraduate at Oxford, was compelled to undergo an examina tion in Divinity. His upbringing had not included a study o the Bible; and his preparation for the examination had bee wofully inadequate. When, therefore, he was asked to translat from the Greek Testament the passage describing the ship wreck of St. Paul, he read it for the first time. After he ha translated a few verses with tolerable success, one of th examiners announced that that would do. 'No, sir, it will nc do,' was the surprising answer, 'I want to know what happene to the beggar.' Its irreverence and impudence apart, nothin could have been more admirable than that rejoinder. It w wholly in keeping with the spirit of the Greeks; and it is to b hoped that this book will be read, and the study of Gree civilization further pursued by those who read it, with the sam vigorous zest for inquiry.

C. E. R.

Sept. 1933.

LIST OF DATES

c. 2300–1600 B.C.	Civilization developed in Peloponnese, &c., under Cretan influence.
c. 1600–1250 B.C.	Golden Age of Mycenaean civilization.
c. 1250	Greek-speaking Achaeans begin to arrive from north.
c. 1180.	Trojan War. [Israelites enter Canaan.]
c. 1100–1000.	Invasion of Dorian Greeks from north, and migrations to coast of Asia Minor.
c. 900.	Homeric Poems written down. [Solomon King in Israel.]
c. 800 onwards.	Formation of Greek City-states; and plantation of numerous 'colonies' on Aegean coasts, south Italy, Sicily, &c.
c. 750.	[Foundation of Rome.]
c. 720.	Sparta's conquest of Messenia.
c. 650–630.	Revolt of Messenia followed by Lycurgan Reform.
550–500.	Sparta wins supremacy of Peloponnese.
586.	[Fall of Jerusalem. Jews go into exile in Babylonia.]
570–510.	Athens under 'tyranny' of Pisistratus and his sons.
508.	Athens becomes a democracy. [Rome becomes a republic.]
490.	First Persian Invasion defeated at Marathon.
480–479.	Second Persian Invasion by Xerxes, battles of Thermopylae, Salamis, and Plataea.
479–454.	Delian Confederacy develops into Athenian Empire.
438.	Completion of Parthenon.
431–421.	First Phase of Peloponnesian War (Pylos, &c.).
415–413.	Athenian Expedition against Syracuse.
413–404.	Second phase of Peloponnesian War (Aegospotami 405) and Fall of Athens.
390.	[The Gauls sack Rome.]
338.	Athens and Thebes defeated at Chaeronea by Philip of Macedon.
334–325.	Alexander of Macedon conquers the East.
323.	Death of Alexander.

CONTENTS

LIST OF DATES 6

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS 8

I. LIFE IN THE HEROIC AGE 11

II. THE CITY-STATE 31

III. LIFE AT SPARTA 35

IV. THE RISE OF ATHENS 47

V. ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY 51

VI. DAILY LIFE IN ATHENS 68

VII. WOMEN AND SLAVES 81

VIII. TRADES AND PROFESSIONS . . . 89

IX. RECREATION 111

X. RELIGION 129

XI. EDUCATION 139

CONCLUSION 150

GLOSSARY OF GREEK NAMES 156

INDEX 157

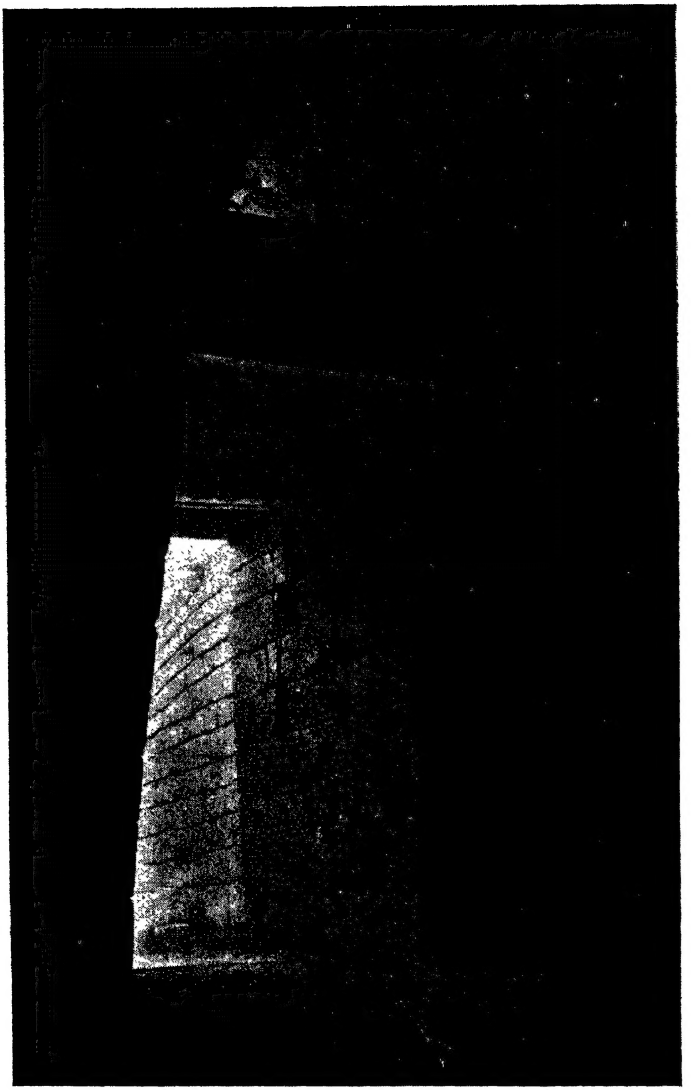
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The Parthenon. *Photograph*, ALINARI . . *Frontispiece*

The Chamber of Atreus at Mycenae 10

1. Map to illustrate Greece in Homeric Times . . . 12
2. Subterranean Gallery, Tiryns. *Photograph by* MR. PERCIVAL HART 13
3. A 'Homeric' Cup. *Ashmolean Museum* . . . 15
4. Olive Trees. *Photograph by* MR. R. S. TROUP . . 19
5. A rough Bird's-eye View of Greece from the South-east . 21
6. An Ancient Ship taken from an early ivory-carving and similar to ships described in Homer . . . 23
7. A Homeric Reciter 27
8. Arcadia. *Photograph*, KUNSTHIST. SEMINAR, MARBURG . 33
9. Vale of Sparta 37
10. Musical Drill (a Pyrrhic Dance). *Photograph*, ALINARI . 39
11. A Runner 41
12. A Hoplite. *Staatliche Museen, Berlin* 45
13. View of Athens from NE. 48
14. Plan of Athens 49
15. Map of Attica, placed for comparison in Yorkshire . . 52
16. Juror's Ticket and Obol 59
17. Ephebe's Grave. *From* W. REIZLER, *Weissgrundige attische Lekythen* 61
18. Ships racing. *Photograph*, GIRAUDON . . . 63
19. Model of a Venetian 'Trireme'. *Museo Storico Navale, Venice* 65
20. The Doric Chiton 69
21. Palaestra Scene. *National Museum, Athens* . . . 75
22. A Banquet. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* . 79
23. A Maiden. *Photograph*, ANDERSON 83
24. Lady's Tombstone. *Photograph*, ALINARI . . . 85
25. Picking Olives. *British Museum* 91
26. Greek Coins 93
27. Tombstone of Athenian Sailor 97

28. Typical Vases. *British Museum, and Ashmolean Museum* . 101
29. Doric Architecture. *Photograph*, WALTER HEGE GDL, WEIMAR, *from* HEGE-RODENWALT, *Die Akropolis* (Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin) 103
30. Ionic Architecture. *Photograph*, WALTER HEGE GDL, WEIMAR, *from* HEGE-RODENWALT, *Die Akropolis* (Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin) 105
31. A Greek Youth, *Photograph*, ALINARI . . . 107
32. Acropolis from North-east. *Photograph*, WALTER HEGE GDL, WEIMAR, *from* HEGE-RODENWALT, *Die Akropolis* (Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin) 109
33. Warriors playing Draughts. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* . 113
34. Ancient 'Hockey' 115
35. Olympia. *Photograph by* MR. B. ASHMOLE . . . 117
36. Stadium at Delphi. *Photograph*, KUNSTHIST. SEMINAR, MARBURG 119
37. Boy Victor crowning himself. *National Museum, Athens* . 121
38. Riders in Panathenaic Procession (from Parthenon Frieze). *Photograph*, WALTER HEGE GDL, WEIMAR, *from* HEGE-RODENWALT, *Die Akropolis* (Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin) 123
39. Theatre at Epidaurus 125
40. Tragic Actor 127
41. View from Delphi. *Photograph*, KUNSTHIST. SEMINAR, MARBURG 131
42. Mystic Initiation. *National Museum, Athens*. . . 137
43. Education. *From* FURTWÄNGLER AND REICHHOLD, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*) 139
44. Wrestling Scene. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* . 141
45. Athenian Boy. *Photograph*, ALINARI 143
46. Socrates. *British Museum* 147
47. The Goddess Athena leaning on her spear. *National Museum, Athens* 151
Map of Greece and the Aegean. . . back end-paper



THE CHAMBER OF ATREUS AT MYCENAE

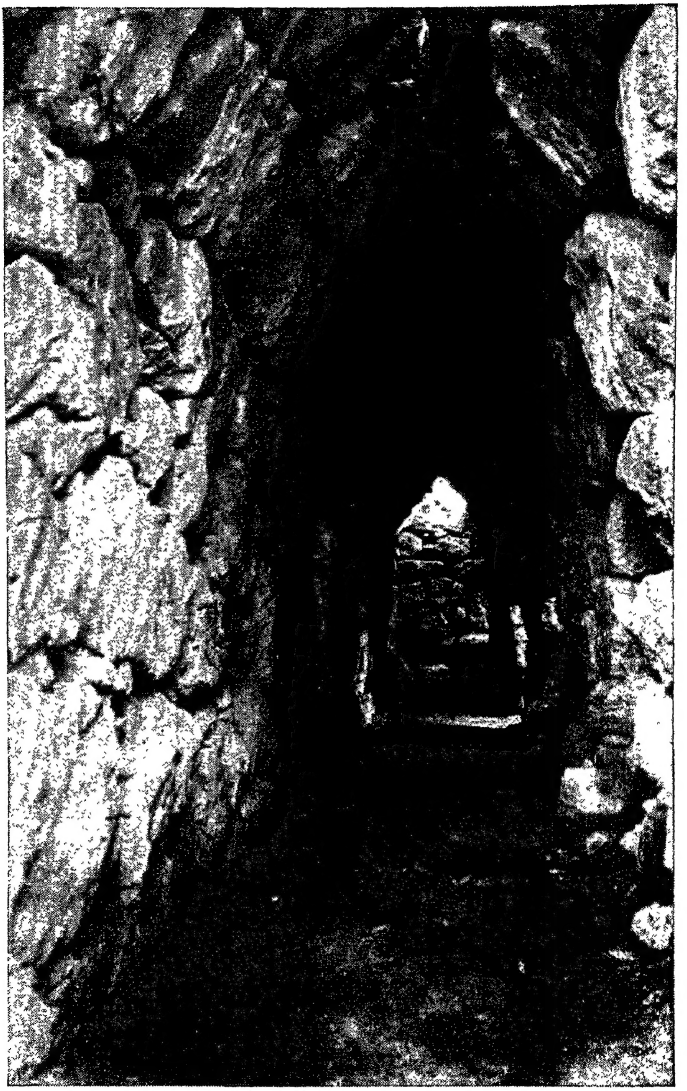


FIG. 2. SUBTERRANEAN GALLERY, TIRYNS

and crossed the sea in search of plunder. The most famous of their expeditions was against the city of Troy, which lay on the north-west corner of Asia Minor hard by the Dardanelles. Concerning this and other exploits their minstrels composed songs, and the songs were treasured, being handed down, as we may guess, from minstrel father to minstrel son. By and by the Greeks learnt the art of writing from Phoenician merchants; and about 900 B.C. a certain poet called Homer—a blind old bard, so later tradition said—strung many of these songs together to form two great poems called the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the most thrilling and beautiful tales that were ever told in verse.[1] It is from these two poems, as well as from the remains which archaeologists have dug up, that we know how the Greeks lived in this early age before the dawn of history proper.

The Achaean princes kept great style. Their palaces, indeed, as may be seen at Mycenae and Tiryns, were simply planned. A spacious hall or 'Megaron' was their living-room, with a central hearth surrounded by four pillars which propped the roof, the smoke escaping through a vent-hole overhead. Here, too, the men slept, while the womenfolk retired to quarters of their own. Outside the ante-chamber of the hall lay an open courtyard, surrounded by a penthouse or veranda where slaves

[1] The *Iliad* relates a series of episodes in the great Trojan War, culminating in the story of the mortal combat in which the Greek Achilles slew the Trojan champion Hector and dragged the corpse at his chariot-tail around the city walls. The *Odyssey* tells of the homeward voyage of the Greek Odysseus (called Ulysses by the Romans) to his native town on the island of Ithaca, where he found his faithful wife Penelope hard pressed and his substance wasted by a crowd of insolent suitors, among whom he entered in the guise of a poor beggar, but presently seizing a bow, disclosed himself and shot them down in his own halls.

A 'HOMERIC' CUP (*see opposite*)

One of two gold cups found at Vaphio. The scene is a bull-hunt; a girl has locked arms and legs round the bull's horns while, beneath, a cow-boy has apparently been tossed.

FIG. 3. A 'HOMERIC' CUP

and even guests might be set to sleep. Besides other rooms and store chambers there was usually a bath-room; for the Achaeans were a cleanly folk and always after travel or fighting would take their first opportunity of a good wash. But though simple in structure, their palaces were handsomely adorned. In one has been found the remains of a beautiful patterned frieze of alabaster inlaid with blue glass. One may guess that even in the fairy-tale description which Homer gives of the palace of King Alcinous some of the detail has been drawn from actual life. '*Brazen were the walls on this side and on that, and round about them ran a frieze of blue; and golden were the doors which enclosed that goodly house, with door posts of silver on a threshold of bronze and a silver lintel above, and on either side stood golden dogs and silver to guard the house of great-hearted Alcinous. Within were seats set in array along the wall, and thereupon were spread delicate coverlets fine woven, the women's handiwork. Moreover there were youths fashioned in gold, standing on firm-set bases with flaming torches in their hands, giving light through the night to feasters in the palace.*'

The craftsmen of those days, we know, were extremely skilful, and worked in rich materials. Gold is constantly mentioned. As in the days of King Solomon, silver was 'little accounted of'. Bronze was the favourite metal; and iron was as yet a rarity. A famous pair of drinking-cups has been discovered, both of beaten gold; and on one the scene of a bull-hunt, on the other a herd of oxen are depicted with a skill which beggars fancy. Homer, too, tells of a shield, manufactured for Achilles, on which were graven or inlaid all manner of scenes taken from daily life. It is from these scenes, as he describes them, that we can gain perhaps the best picture of how the Achaeans lived.

Agriculture was naturally one of the chief means of livelihood. The staple products of the soil were corn, wine, and oil which was pressed from olive-berries and served the ancients in place

of butter for cooking and of soap for washing. Ploughing was done with teams of oxen or mules. Here is the picture which we get from Achilles' shield:

And thereafter on the shield
He set a tender fallow-field;
Passing rich the tillage was
And three times worked and wide,
And in it wheeling up and down
A-many ploughmen plied
Their teams; and when anon they drew
Unto the fallow's end,
Then came a man to meet them there
And gave into their hand
Wine in a goblet honey-sweet;
So turned they up the furrow
And were full fain to come again
To the end of the deep fallow.

Next the harvesting:

And next a lord's domain deep-soiled
He set thereon and in it toiled
Hireling reapers; in their hands
Sharp sickles they were plying.
And down the furrow fell the swathes,
Some well in order lying
And some the binders bound with straw;
For binders there were three,
And boys behind them plucked and bore
By armfuls for to give them store
And the work went on unceasingly.
And thereamong the overlord
In silence, hand on stave,
Was standing by the furrow's edge
And the heart in him was blithe.

Far more than on agriculture, however, the Achaeans depended for their livelihood on the pasturage of flocks and herds. They kept goats, sheep, and swine; but their most prized possession was the ox, an animal doubly useful for ploughing as well as for food. In this primitive age when coined money was not yet invented, they even measured values by so many head of oxen; and many female names, such as Alphesiboea 'the winner of oxen', disclose the fact that at the time of the child's birth the anxious father had looked forward to his daughter's marriage-day when she would bring him some return for the cost of her upbringing. On Achilles' shield the oxen are not forgotten:

A herd of straight-horned kine anon
He did fashion thereupon;
Of gold and tin were the kine chased
And with lowing loud they paced
From the midden to the mead
By rippling river and waving reed.
And golden-wrought beside the kine
Went drovers four, and with them nine
Fleet-footed hounds were following;
But among the cows ahead
Two lions terrible and dread
A mighty bull held bellowing.
Loud roared he, as they dragged him down
And the young swains and dogs made haste
To aid him; but they two had torn
The hide of the great bull to taste
The entrails and black blood. In vain
The drovers urged the swift dogs on;
But they in fear shrank back again
And cowering there gave tongue.

Olive-picking was a humdrum task; but the vintage was a fit theme for poetry.

FIG. 4. OLIVE TREES

And a vineyard cluster-laden
Next he fashioned fair and golden;
Black hung the bunches, standing high
On silver poles continuously.
And around, a ditch of azure
And a pale he drave of tin;
And up it ran a single path,
By the which to gather in
The vintage would the pickers pass.
Merry hearted lad and lass
In baskets bore the honeyed fruit;
Among them on a shrilling lute
A boy made witching melody
And chanted sweet in piping voice
The Linus Song: so tripped they on
With music and with merry noise.

All this makes a happy and pleasant picture of peaceful country life. But the Achaeans were no stay-at-homes. The love of excitement was strong in them, and in part it was satisfied by the pleasures of the chase. The Homeric poems are full of allusions to hunting—hares and deer and wild boars; there were even frequent encounters with lions. But this was not enough for their restless spirit. Greece is a sea-girt country with many creeks and inlets offering good harbourage, and innumerable scattered islands through which ships might thread their way with security in summer. So the Achaeans, and the other Greeks after them, took readily to the sea. Launching their gaily painted galleys 'of the scarlet cheek' and 'sitting well in order on the thwarts' they would 'smite the grey sea with their oars' and so fare forth on their adventures. Many went in quest of trade, penetrating distant corners of the Mediterranean waters. Traffic with Egypt and the Levant was common; and Phoenician merchantmen brought to Greek shores many valuables and luxuries from the East.

they launched their 'ashen spears' till one or other was wounded. The issue of the battle was usually decided by such single combats. The common folk were only lightly armed and could make no stand against the prowess of the champions, before

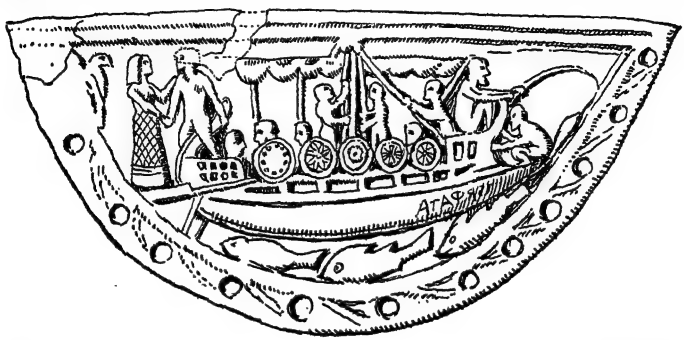


FIG. 6. An ancient ship taken from an early ivory-carving and similar to ships described in Homer. In the centre two men haul at the mainsail which is furled to a yard-arm. The rowers sit each behind his shield. In prow and stern are short decks; from one a man is fishing; from the other the captain says good-bye to his wife. The steersman, seated astern, wields two paddles.

whom they were as chaff before the wind. Here is Homer's picture of Achilles' passage through the mêlée:

As down the hollow of the glen
Fierce fire its havoc plays,
When drought is on the mountain
And the deep woods are ablaze,
And a wind blows which catcheth up
And hunts the flame all ways;
So all ways ravening with his spear,
As he had been a god's own peer,
He hunted and he slew them there,
Till earth ran black where the blood was.
And, as when broad-browed bulls are yoked

White barley for to tread,
Upon a threshing-floor well-lain
And 'neath the feet of lowing kine
Is lightly sifted out the grain,
So by high-souled Achilles sped
The hoovèd horses trod the shield
And trampled on the dead.
Below upon the axle-tree
And above about the rail
The chariot dripped with a bloody froth,
It spurted from the horses' hoof,
It spurted from the wheel;
So did the son of Peleus ride
For winning of the battle's pride;
And in the carnage deep he dyed
His hands invincible.

As in war, so in peace, the common folk counted for little. This was what we call a 'patriarchal' age—that is, the political power in the community lay in the hands of the 'fathers' or heads of families. The chief or prince, as 'father' of the tribe, commanded its host in war, sacrificed to the gods for its common welfare, and sat in judgement upon disputes among its members. Often he called the other leading men or elders into consultation. Homer gives us a picture of these elders met together in the market-place to settle a blood-feud.

In the mart the folk were thronging
Where had arisen strife,
Two men striving for the ransom
Upon a dead man's life;
And one averred that all was quit
To the folk attesting it;
But one that he had gotten naught,
And both before a justice sought

Trial of their suit; and loud
The backers cried for either side
But heralds stayed the crowd.
On smooth stones in a holy ring
The elders sat, and in their hands
Heralds of the lusty voice
Had set the sacred wands,
Wherewith stood they forth in turn
Each to say his say
And sooth it is that in the midst
Two golden talents lay
To give to him among them all
Who should judge of it most right.

It is of the life of these chiefs and leaders that the Homeric poems for the most part tell. Occasionally we get a glimpse of the life of the lesser folk. The *Odyssey*, in particular, relates many incidents which throw a light on their condition. It tells of beggars who haunt the courts of the rich, of a Phoenician slave-woman who was beguiled by the trinkets of a Levantine pedlar into eloping on his ship, of men kidnapped from their homes and sold into bondage. Of one slave, the faithful swineherd of Odysseus, we have a delightful account, showing the friendliest relations between servant and master. Yet the picture is by no means too rosy. These men knew the hardships and hazards of life, the bitter nip of the night frost and the high-handed treatment of a haughty chief.

The style and habits of the chiefs recall our own medieval barons. Their life was a full and pleasant one. They were great eaters, feasting liberally on beef and pork, while slaves carved and handed round the bread in baskets. Their wine was a rich syrup which they mixed in a bowl with water before it was ladled out to the diners. Minstrels were frequently in attendance. At the feast in Alcinous' house, when the meal was over, a minstrel struck up with his harp and sang of the great deeds

of famous men. '*A goodly thing it is*', Odysseus said, '*to listen to a singer such as this, like to the very gods in voice.*'

Another favourite pastime was the dance. A floor of beaten earth was specially prepared for it. Here is Homer's description of a typical scene:

Young squires and maids of costly dower
Danced hand in hand upon the floor,
These in lissom kirtles dight
Those in tunics woven light,
Whereon oil of olive glowed;
Each maiden had a lovely crown
And the young men swords of gold
From silver baldrics hanging down;
And whiles they tripped on cunning feet
Deft moving in a reel,
As when some potter at his bench
Makes trial of a wheel,
Fitting it between his hands,
Whether it run true;
And then anon in double file
They danced it to and fro,
And round about that lovely choir
Was set a goodly throng.
Full joyful were the folk to see
The pleasant sight; and thereamong
A holy minstrel played his harp
And, as he led the tune,
Two tumblers went between the ranks
A-twirling up and down.

A HOMERIC RECITER (*see opposite*)

This figure (taken from a jar the shape of which is indicated on the right) represents a man, dressed in a 'himation', from whose mouth proceed the words 'So it befell once in Tiryns'.

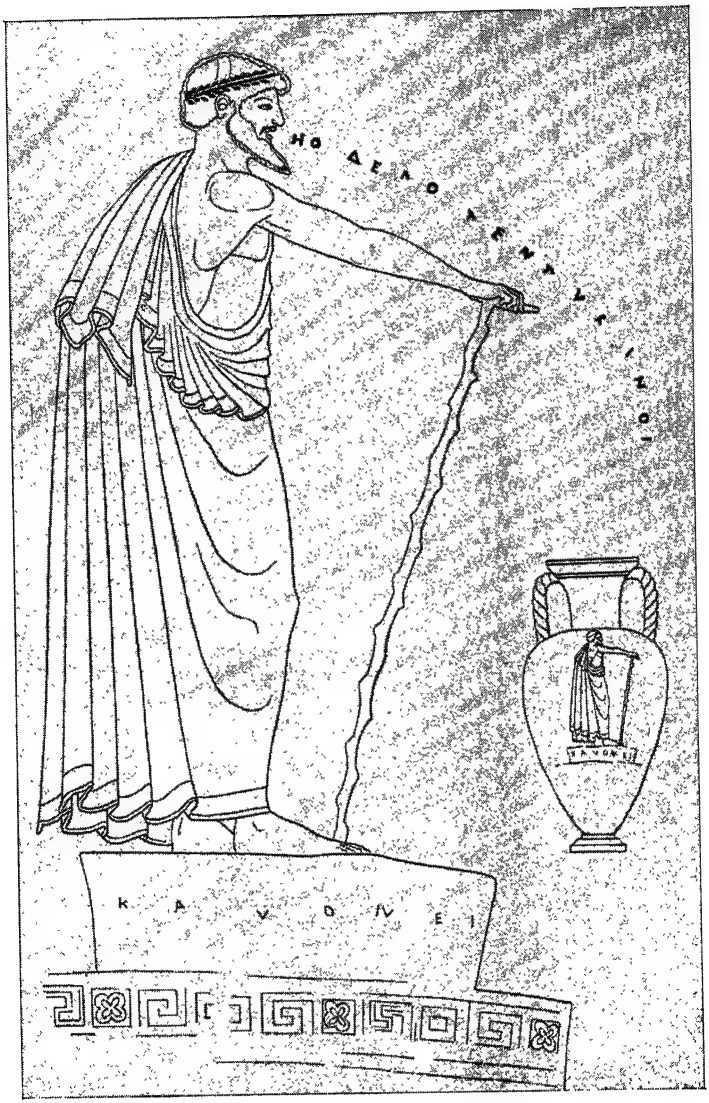


FIG. 7. A HOMERIC RECITER

Sometimes the dancers played a game of ball in time to the tune. Athletic exercises of a more strenuous sort were also very popular. For the Greeks were at all times great lovers of sports. At the close of Alcinous' banquet, the young men competed in running, wrestling, boxing, jumping, and weight-throwing; and Odysseus, middle aged as he was, astonished the company by throwing a monster stone 'far beyond all the other marks'.

In many of their activities the womenfolk mixed freely among the men. True, they kept their separate quarters in the house, and did not, as a rule, appear at the banquets of the males; but on the whole nothing is more remarkable than the independence of the wives and daughters of the Homeric chieftains as compared with the less enviable condition of the women of later times. The poems are full of beautiful feminine characters, such as Hector's wife Andromache, the faithful Penelope who waited twenty years for her husband's home-coming, the lovely Helen whose elopement to Troy was the prime cause of the Greeks' expedition, or the maiden Nausicaa who befriended Odysseus when washed ashore after a shipwreck.

Nothing in the Homeric poems is more remarkable than the delicacy and courtesy of the manners of this people. Young men invariably rise from their seats when an older man enters the room. Towards strangers they show an unfailing courtesy, rebuking such louts as think a foreigner fair game for insolence. The same behaviour is still to be found among the peasant folk of any European countryside, where the vulgarity of town-civilization has not yet made its way. These virtues are, it seems, common to all who live very close to nature; and certainly the Homeric folk were nothing if not natural. Their emotions were strong and honest; their loves and hates passionate. Achilles declares that, on slaying his mortal foe Hector, he could almost find it in his heart to carve and eat him raw. Women, hearing of their husbands' deaths, give themselves up to wild lament. Odysseus, when at last he meets his son after

long absence, sheds tears till the going down of the sun. Yet a fine restraint is also observable in this passionate race; and perhaps this quality in them will be best understood if we close by saying a word concerning their religious beliefs.

The ancient religion of the land before the coming of the Greeks had been a gloomy worship of dark, mysterious powers which dwelt in the recesses of the Underworld and were bestial in form and cruel in temper. To placate them men made offerings of bowls of blood or even, in their despair, of human victims; and all know the story of the hideous Minotaur, half bull, half man, who lurked in the famous Labyrinth at Crete and fed on the bodies of hapless youths and maids. This sinister creed the Greeks, when they entered the land, seem in part to have adopted; for legend told how even Agamemnon, who led their host to Troy, sacrificed his own daughter Iphigeneia to win divine favour for the voyage. But, as time went on, these foul superstitions were suppressed and the creed, which the Greeks brought with them, triumphed. It was a far happier, sunnier creed. Its gods were not mysterious hobgoblins or monstrosities, but reasonable beings of human form and with the minds and passions of men. They dwelt, so it was thought, above the clouds on Mount Olympus, whose snow-capped peak rose sparkling beyond the plains of northern Thessaly. Each among them, too, had some favourite shrine in various parts of Greece: Athena at Athens, Apollo at Delphi, Zeus at Olympia. At such shrines, and at many an improvised altar too, was offered sacrifice of the thigh-bones of oxen wrapped in fat, and in many other ways. The purpose of such sacrifice was not merely to placate the gods' wrath, but to invoke their assistance in the various operations of men's daily life. Each deity had his special function. Zeus the sky-god and the wielder of the thunderbolt ruled over all Olympus and presided over the destinies of men, weighing in his golden balances their lots of life and death. Poseidon was the god of the sea and the saviour of mariners

Athena was the patroness of handicrafts; Ares the lord of war, and Apollo of healing. What therefore is specially to be noted is that the Greeks' notion of the gods was not vague and mysterious, but reasonable and clear-cut. Olympus, so to speak, was highly organized; and this sense of system was typical of the race. They liked to see everything well ordered, and they applied their *minds*, as few peoples have ever done, to the manifold problems of life. So, hot blooded and passionate as they were, they did not let their feelings run away with them. They sought to curb and direct them by the guiding restraints of reason. Above all, they disliked excess; and, if one were to choose any one of their many proverbs as peculiarly suitable for their national motto, it would be the two words inscribed over Apollo's shrine at Delphi—*Mēden agān*, 'Nothing too much'. On that principle their whole civilization was based.

But the Greeks had far to travel before they reached full civilization. For about 1100 the Heroic Age, of which we have been speaking, came abruptly to an end. In the wake of the Achaeans came other migratory tribes of Greek-speaking peoples. They were called the Dorians and, unlike their Achaean predecessors, they were too rough and barbarous to appreciate the culture which they found in the lands they conquered. They sacked the lordly palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae. All the arts and riches laboriously built up through many centuries were thus suddenly swept away; and a Dark Age followed. But the germ of the Greek genius was working. Order was at last evolved out of chaos; and after four or five centuries of semi-barbarism a new and even more brilliant culture was to blossom forth among the city-states of what we call historic Greece.

II

THE CITY-STATE

THE landscape of Greece was worthy of its people. Modern travellers who journey thither intending to visit its museums and admire its temples find themselves to their own surprise entranced by the natural beauty of its scenery. Everywhere are mountains—more naked and barren perhaps than in antiquity, since pine forests and oak coppices were used up long ago for ships' timbers and other purposes—yet even in the old days the fine sharp outline of the hills must have stood out strong and clear in the crystal atmosphere of Mediterranean sunshine. Shallow scrub covers their lower slopes; and among the scrub lies such a litter of boulders and loose shale that some agility is needed in picking one's way among them, and pathways normally follow the course of some dry ravine or torrent-bed. Between the ranges of these hills lie narrow level strips of fertile plain-land, brilliant in spring-time with the emerald green of young corn crops in vivid contrast to the shimmering grey of the extensive olive orchards. Towards the foot of the plain the vista between the pale blue mountains broadens out, disclosing a horizon of the deep blue sea, calm as a lake in summer, sparkling with the 'myriad laughter' of tiny dancing wavelets and strewn with the grey shapes of countless rocky islets.[1]

It was in such plains—and there are many—that the Greeks, when first they arrived out of the north, settled down to make their homes. For some centuries they lived, as they had settled, in scattered villages or groups of villages, each under its local chief. Then bit by bit the groups began to league themselves together, for common religious celebrations, a common market, and common defence; but, most important of all, for common government. Thus in each plain there came to be formed a

[1] See bird's-eye view on p. 21.

separate political community; and the need arising for some political centre, its members chose some convenient hill-top which would serve equally for fortress and for capital. The name which the Greeks gave to such a fortress-capital was Polis or City; and the community of plain-dwellers who united in a common allegiance to this central Polis[1] is known as a City-State.

Now these city-states were something entirely novel in the history of the world. Other ancient peoples—the inhabitants of Mesopotamia,[2] for example, or the Egyptians—dwelt in plains of enormous area and their millions were content to obey the despotic rule of hereditary kings. Not so the Greeks; for their city-states were so diminutive and the citizens lived so close to the centre of government that they soon grew dissatisfied with the blundering of their monarchs. So one after another these monarchies were suppressed; and the members of each city-state undertook the adventurous task of governing themselves. To find oneself master of one's own destiny is a thrilling experience, as every young man knows when he emerges from the restraints of school or home; and the Greeks, enjoying the taste of political responsibility, were fiercely proud of their freedom. They were fired by an intensity of local patriotism which is difficult for us to imagine. To say that they loved their Polis is far short of the mark. She was all in all to them; and to be banished from her confines was a calamity almost worse than death itself. They were prepared to die for her; and wars

[1] It is easy to see how much Greek ideas of government have influenced later ages; for many of our words such as 'Politics', 'Politician', &c., are derived from this old Greek word for the state.

[2] The recently discovered civilization of the Sumerians, however, affords a parallel to the city-state.

ARCADIA (*see opposite*)

Typical mountain scenery showing the boulder-strown hill-side, olive-trees, and in the foreground the ruins of a temple.

3968

C

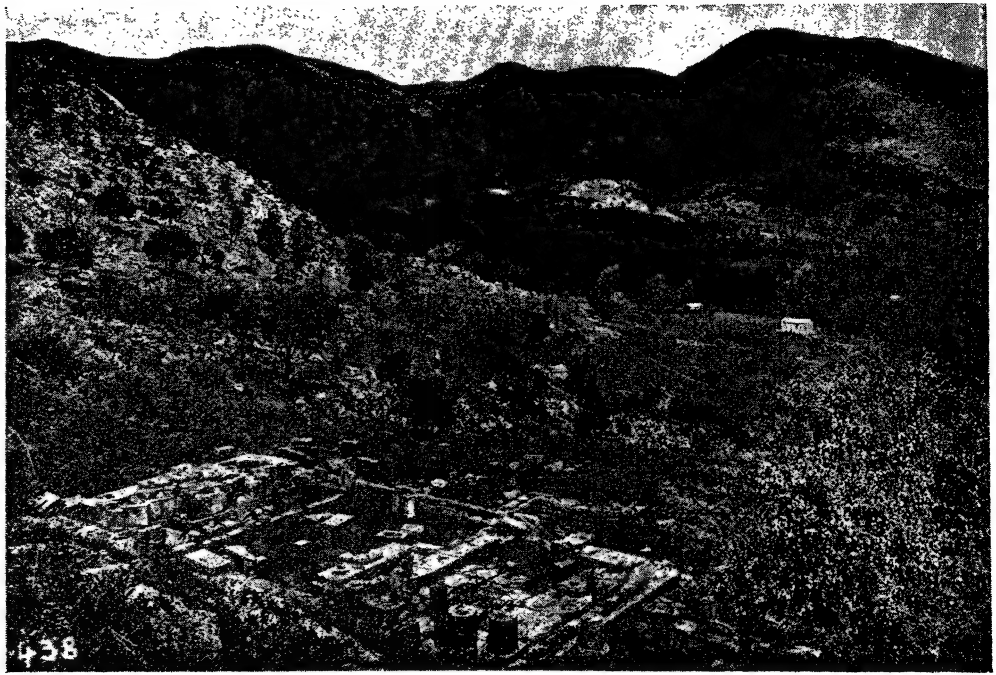


FIG. 8. ARCADIA

between city-state and city-state were unhappily so frequent and so bitter that the common unity of the Greek race as a whole was often lost completely from sight; and in the end the country was ruined by long-drawn internal strife. Such was the heavy price which Greece was forced to pay for this division into small political units—the largest of which did not exceed the area of a middle-sized English county. Yet the division was worth while; for only on so small a scale could the experiment of self-government have been attempted; and it produced, as we shall see, the most astonishing results.

By the end of the seventh century B.C. there had been formed many scores of such diminutive city-states not merely on the Greek mainland itself, but on the Aegean Islands and along the western coast of Asia Minor. Nor was this all; for the growth of population induced many states to send out colonists; and thus sprang up on the surrounding coasts of Sicily, Italy, and elsewhere a further crop of similar communities, almost completely independent of the mother-state who sent them out, and governing themselves according to the selfsame methods as they had known at home.

At first it was not *all* the inhabitants of a city-state who could claim a share of political privilege. The conditions of life were still mainly agricultural; many of the folk were little better than serfs; and the larger landowners monopolized political power, making the laws, delivering judgement on disputes, and deciding the issues of peace and war. Self-government therefore meant government by the wealthier class only. Oligarchy or the Rule of the Few is the name given to such government; and at the close of the seventh century oligarchies were general among the city-states of Greece.

Henceforward it will be well to concentrate our attention on two of these states, Sparta and Athens. About these far more is known; and the contrast between their political institutions adds special point to their choice.

III

LIFE AT SPARTA

I. THE LYCURGAN SYSTEM

AMONG the many city-states of Greece one of the most interesting was Sparta. This state had been formed in the beautiful valley of Lacedaemon in the south of the Peloponnese. It is a pleasant land, rich with trees and crops, well watered by the river Eurotas and other streams which flow down from the great mountain Taygetus upon its western side. The tribe of conquering Dorians, who had occupied it, had enslaved the original inhabitants, making them till the soil as serfs or *Helots*. By and by they crossed Mount Taygetus and, conquering the adjacent plain of Messenia, made serfs of its inhabitants too. Now the Spartans themselves were not very numerous, not more than a few thousand at most; and the serfs or Helots outnumbered them by ten or twenty to one. This was a dangerous situation; and about the middle of the seventh century the Helots suddenly rose in revolt. By a tremendous effort the Spartans at length wore the rebels down. But they had learnt their lesson. They were determined never to risk a repetition of the awful crisis. So a couple of generations later they undertook a complete reorganization of their national life.[1]

The authorship of this celebrated reform was attributed by tradition to a certain Lycurgus; and, though of Lycurgus himself we have no reliable information, the character and

[1] The constitution of Sparta comprised all three political elements which were present in the primitive community of Homeric times. These were: two hereditary *Kings* whose functions were eventually confined to commanding the army in war; a *Council of Elders* called the *Gerousia*: an *Assembly of Citizens* who were allowed little real voice in policy, their verdict being ascertained by the crude method of seeing whether 'Ayes' or 'Noes' shouted the louder. Besides these three, however, and, as time went on, developing more importance than them all, was a body of five *Ephors* who were annually elected and who in reality directed the affairs of the state.

betwct of the reform is well known to us. It sought by an iron andcipline to train the entire body of Spartan citizens into an vefficient garrison for the suppression of the serfs.

The Lycurgan system began with the upbringing of the young. At birth a male Spartan was inspected by the elders. If weakly, they ordered him to be exposed on the mountain-side and left to die. If likely to grow up to be a serviceable soldier, he was permitted to live and left for the first seven years in the charge of his mother. The women of Sparta were famous for their stalwart limbs and stout hearts. Where public interests were concerned, they did not flinch from any sacrifice. 'Return *with* your shield or *on* it' was the advice they gave when their sons went forth to war, implying that to be borne home wounded was preferable to the loss of shield in ignominious flight. Some mothers were even known to kill their sons for cowardice. Compared with the women of the rest of Greece, they enjoyed considerable independence; and as nurses they were everywhere much in request.

At seven home-life ended, and the boy was drafted into a sort of boarding-school with sixty or more others. The superintendent was an older man with a youth of twenty to assist him, to say nothing of attendants called 'Floggers'. Some of the leading boys were given the position of prefects and allowed to 'fag' the rest. All lived and fed together in a common mess; and it was a part of their training that the boys should supplement their scanty rations by stealing off the neighbouring farms. This practice was intended to develop resourcefulness and courage; and there is a famous story of a lad who, being caught in the act of stealing a tame fox, hid the animal under his cloak

---

VALE OF SPARTA (*see opposite*)

Above the plain rich with fruit-trees and tillage rise the cliffs and snowclad peaks of Mount Taygetus, across which lies the mountain track to the Messenian Plain.

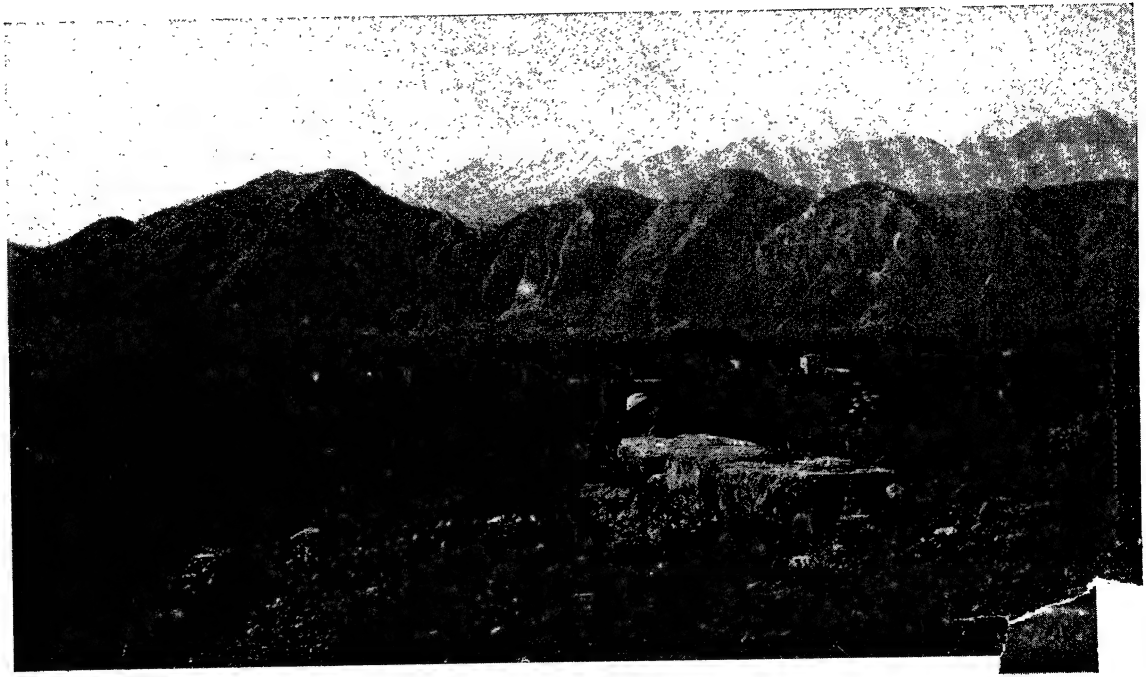


FIG. 9. VALE OF SPARTA

betwet of ed it to lacerate his vitals rather than accept the and.ciplinof exposure.

wefficientness was, indeed, the principal quality which the Thgan system aimed at producing. The boys went barefoot, wore but a single garment, and lay on a bed of thistledown and reeds. They swam in the Eurotas, one of the few strong-flowing rivers of Greece, drawing its waters from the snow-capped peaks of Mount Taygetus which towers above the Vale of Lacedaemon. All manner of sports were practised, running, wrestling, quoit-throwing, and above all dancing, which resembled what we should call musical drill. There were games specially devised to promote pugnacity. In one the lads were divided into two teams or packs; and one team being posted on an island surrounded by streams, it was the business of the other team to expel them by main force, kicking, biting, scratching and even tearing at each others' eyes.

As for school-lessons, as we ourselves know them, there were very few. It is doubtful how far the majority were even taught to read or write. Memory was trained by learning the laws of the state by heart; and most could recite some Homer and the favourite songs of their patriot-poet Tyrtaeus. Rhetoric, or the art of public speaking[1] which other Greeks so much admired, the Spartans despised and mistrusted. They even affected a deliberate curtness of speech of which many examples might be given. 'Breakfast here, supper in Hades', said one of their generals when his army was hopelessly entrapped. Once a foreign ambassador, who came to Sparta seeking assistance, addressed a long harangue to the councillors, who at its conclusion remarked that they had forgotten the first half and could not follow the second. Next day he took the hint and, producing a sack, simply said 'Sack wants flour'. 'You might have left out "sack"' was the answer. As this story shows, these taciturn folk were

[1] Here again our own word 'rhetoric' is derived from the Greek word *rhētor*, a public speaker.

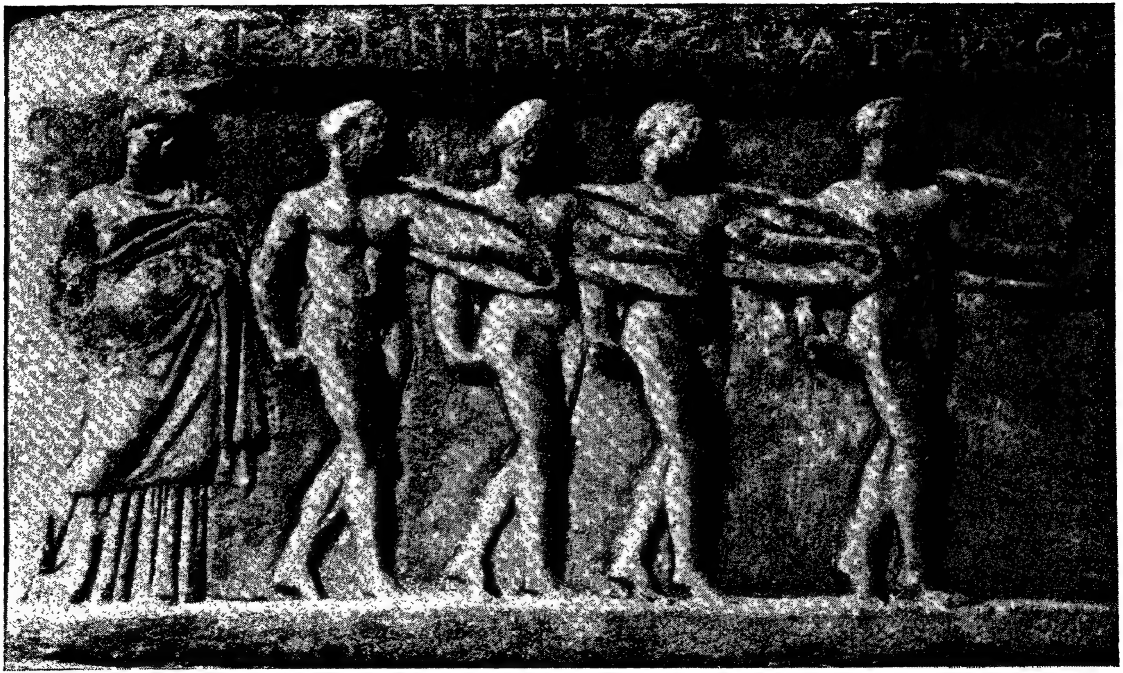


FIG. 10. MUSICAL DRILL (A PYRRHIC DANCE)

not without a certain shrewdness and a dry sense of humour; and even to-day we sometimes speak of a terse, pithy saying as 'laconic', that is like 'Lacedaemonian' speech. But their woful illiteracy stunted their development. They produced no art and no literature of real merit. They were incapable of large views; and though Sparta might have played a glorious part as the leader of the whole Greek race, her history is one long tale of lost opportunities.

At the same time we must remember that the Spartans' over-emphasis on physical exercise had a definite purpose—the making of good soldiers. No sport likely to overdevelop the wrong muscles or otherwise injure the growth of the body was permitted; and for this reason boxing was banned. Once every ten days the boys underwent an official inspection. Their physique was superb. It is unlikely that there was ever a finer race.

Boyhood over, a citizen's first taste of practical duties began and it was a grim one. At eighteen he was drafted into the Secret Corps or Crypteia; and for two years it was his business to go forth among the Helot population of the countryside and, searching out the more dangerous characters among them, to make away with these in as secret a manner as possible. Once as many as two thousand Helots were thus dispatched at a single time and nobody knew how.

Manhood brought no release from the stern discipline of the Lycurgan system. Communal life was in fact the keynote of the Spartans' whole existence. Though hard, it had many compensations. Drill was a regular part of their daily routine; but, like all true soldiers, they enjoyed the zest of team-work and organized co-operation. They liked to feel themselves, as rowers do, a part of an efficient machine; and the spirit of comradeship, which this engendered, was not confined to the parade-ground. It entered into every department of their daily habits. All full-grown citizens lived, like the boys, a barrack-life

FIG. 11. A RUNNER

This man is in the attitude of starting for the 'Hoplite Race'; on his head is a helmet the crest of which is missing; as also is the shield that should be on his arm.

in messes called Syssitia. Their quarters were kept deliberately simple. No decoration was permitted, the law forbidding the use of any tool except the axe. Clothing too was of the simplest; and the foul condition of a Spartan's garments was notorious. They were far from being a cleanly race. In the messes the fare consisted chiefly of pork, cheese, figs, bread, and wine. Spartan broth was famous for its nastiness, so that one stranger declared on tasting it that he now understood why no Spartan feared death. Hunting might add to the menu; but normally each individual member was required to make a monthly contribution of food to the common table. This was provided by the Helots from his farm. No citizen ever worked the land himself.

Even trading was forbidden him, but was left to a class, neither citizens nor serfs, who lived in districts more or less distant from the capital. Thus the amassing of wealth was deliberately discouraged; for it was held that, so long as the citizens possessed no personal interests, they would remain the more devoted servants of the common weal. Money-making indeed was rendered almost impossible, since the only coinage recognized at Sparta was a currency of heavy iron spits. A sum sufficient to purchase a slave would have filled a good-sized wagon!

So stern was the discipline that little scope was left for personal responsibility; and, just as the boys had always a grown man hanging round their heels to keep them out of mischief, so even the Spartan commanders-in-chief were often hampered by the presence of government spies. The result was unfortunate; for when Spartans went abroad and passed beyond the control of the home authorities, they often took to drink and self-indulgence. For they had never learned the true habit of self-mastery for lack of genuine opportunity at home. Nevertheless so long as they were in guiding-strings, they remained the most devoted servants of the state, and their iron discipline

made them magnificent soldiers. Their abundant leisure too allowed daily opportunity for drill; and to appreciate the importance of such training in the military history of Greece, it will be well to say something here about Greek methods of fighting.

II. METHODS OF GREEK WARFARE

Since Homeric times these methods had undergone a change. Combats between single champions had gone out of fashion. They were replaced by the charge of a well-ordered battle-line of heavy-armed warriors or hoplites. These fought at close quarters, using not the old missile javelin, but a six-foot thrusting lance.[1] Their defensive equipment, on the other hand, was much the same as before—a helmet, cuirass, greaves, and a large oval shield which covered the whole body from chin to knee. Thus equipped, they presented to the enemy a front well protected from head to foot. The battle-line or phalanx was formed of a solid rectangle of such hoplites, ranged eight ranks deep as a rule and marching side by side in such close formation that each man was partially covered by his neighbour's shield. So long as the line held firm, its front was almost impenetrable. The two opposed armies, charging against each other to the tune of the pipe, met with a crash which on one occasion, we are told, could be heard at some miles' distance. There then ensued a struggle that more than anything else resembled a football scrum, in which the combatants stood upright and, pushing with their shields and thrusting with their spears, strove to heave their opponents back. So long as the shield-line held, it was difficult even for spears to penetrate the hoplite's armour; but once it broke it was a different matter. Taken in flank or rear, his cuirass offered no adequate protection to the lower portions of his body; and if he fled, casting his cumbrous shield aside, he could be hunted down and dispatched

[1] A short sword was also carried at the side for use at close quarters.

with ease. For this reason the casualties of a defeated army were often out of all proportion to the victors' losses.

For armies thus heavily accoutred and closely marshalled, the first essential was smooth ground for manœuvre. On the broken boulder-strewn hill-side the hoplite would flounder hopelessly. So most battles were fought on the plain; and it was only on occasions when some wild mountain tribe was the enemy that light-armed troops, armed with bows and slings, played a really important part.[1] Cavalry, too, were little used; for the plains of southern Greece were too small to afford easy manœuvre, and only in the wide plains of Thessaly in the north did horse-breeding and horsemanship attain much vogue.

The Greeks clung to the traditional methods of fighting almost as though to the rules of a game. Occasionally, it is true, the rules were broken, and with surprising success. Once a Spartan general, instead of accepting the enemy's challenge when they drew up in regular battle-order, deliberately waited until the 'fall-out' order was given, and then fell on them seated at dinner and wiped them all out. Sometimes an enemy would refuse battle altogether and skulk behind his town-walls (for all cities were fortified except Sparta, where the constant presence of the Helots would have made even such a precaution useless). In these circumstances the invader might attempt (though this was rare) to force an entrance to the city. Sometimes battering-rams were employed to breach the walls. We hear, too, of an ingenious engine consisting of a nozzle attached to a furnace through which flames were blown by bellows on to the inflammable parts of the defences. Sometimes, too, a mound was piled against the wall to facilitate an entry; and the defenders, to meet this, would tunnel underground, drawing the earth

[1] In the fourth century B.C., when other states besides the Spartans began to train professional armies, light-armed troops were drilled in tactics which proved highly successful against the hitherto invincible hoplites. Another equally successful innovation was the massing of the hoplite ranks to a depth of twenty or even fifty deep against the normal eight.

FIG. 12. A HOPLITE

The spear from his right hand is missing; otherwise his armour is complete—crested helmet with cheek-pieces, metal cuirass to waist, greaves on lower legs, and shield covering upper legs and body.

away below as fast as more earth was piled above. Failing success by such methods, the besiegers might settle down to a regular blockade, building a wall completely round the city to check sorties and cut off supplies. It was not unusual to add a second wall outside the first to counter any attempt at relief; and the space between the two walls might be roofed over to afford comfortable quarters if the siege ran on through winter.

Normally, however, an invading army would endeavour to provoke a reluctant enemy to battle by ravaging his lands, destroying crops, felling trees, and setting farms ablaze. In days when most states were self-supporting, a people's harvest was its most vulnerable point. This fact, moreover, had its effect on the attackers too. For they equally depended on getting in their crops; and, as open warfare was unfashionable in winter months, the spring-time campaigns were for the most part brief, the soldier-citizens being impatient to get back home for their reaping in May or June. For in nearly all the states of Greece the army was composed of men called up from plough or workshop when the outbreak of a war demanded it. The Spartans alone possessed a standing army of what may be called professional soldiers; and the fact that they spent their lives in the continual practice of arms gave them an immense superiority over the half-trained militia of their neighbours. For under the conditions of warfare which we have described above it is obvious that victory was bound to go to the army best drilled to keep its ranks and move in perfect unison.

So for two centuries and more the Spartans proved victorious on nearly every battle-field; and as a result they gained the supremacy over almost all the states of the Peloponnese. Not indeed that they were popular. Their dour, brutal character and their selfish inability to understand the feelings of other folk gave them an ill name for high-handed tyranny. On the other hand, no true Greek could withhold his admiration for their superb physical development, their dogged courage, and their

self-sacrificing devotion to their own country's cause. So even beyond the Peloponnese the Spartans were respected as well as feared; and happily, when it came to the test, they were found ready to use their supremacy for more worthy ends than selfish aggrandizement. At a moment of awful peril, when the whole country was threatened by a barbarian invader, they came forward as champions of the Greek national cause.

In 480 B.C. Xerxes, King of Persia, led an enormous expedition into Greece with intent to add the country to his already vast domains.

All the country north of the Isthmus was overrun. Then two decisive battles were fought. First, in the Straits of Salamis the ships of the Greeks, and especially of the Athenians, utterly defeated the great Persian fleet. Xerxes fled for home; but he left a land-army to complete the subjugation of the northern half of the peninsula. In 479 a Greek host, led by the Spartans, overwhelmed this army at Plataea in Boeotia. It was an amazing triumph, for Persia was the strongest power in the world. The Greeks were uplifted by a new sense of their national greatness. They realized more than ever before the true value of liberty. The prestige of Sparta had never stood so high.

IV

THE RISE OF ATHENS

WHILE the Spartans were making good their domination of the Peloponnese, Athens had been striking out along different lines. At first she was a purely agricultural state, poor and insignificant. Then during the sixth century B.C. industries had been starte especially the manufacture of pottery for export. Foreign traders had come to settle. A promising trade had been begu and shortly before the Persian invasion the discovery of silver ore in south-east Attica had been utilized to build

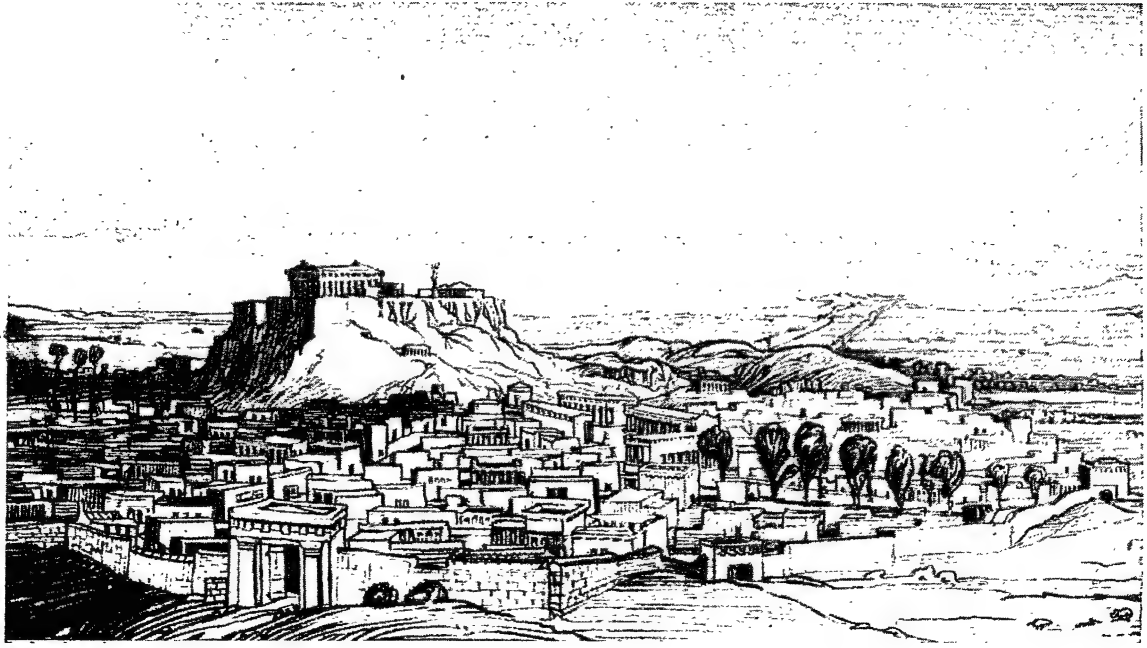


Fig. 13. Bird's-eye view of Ancient Athens from N.E.

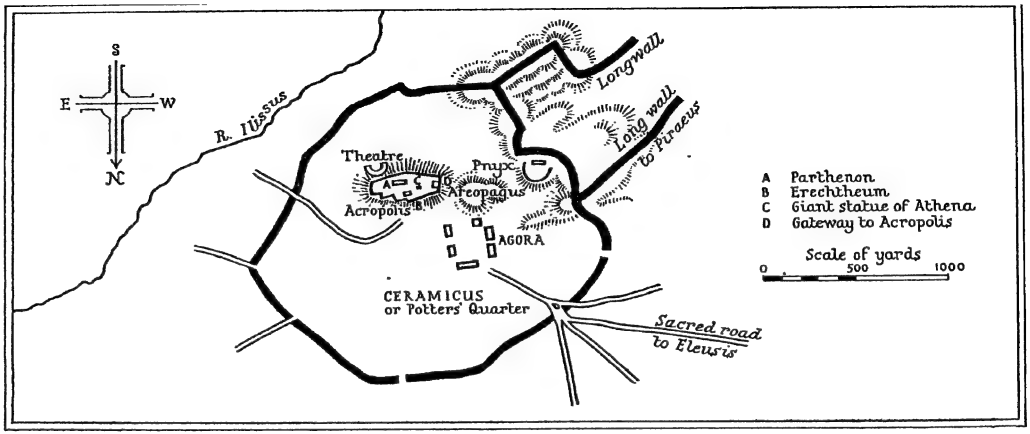


FIG. 14. PLAN OF ATHENS

VIEW OF ATHENS SEEN FROM N.E. (*see opposite*)

On the distant sea-horizon lies the Island of Aegina and beyond it the mountains of the Peloponnese. On the sea-coast to the right lies the Piraeus harbour with the line of the Long Walls leading to it. On the Acropolis may be seen

(A) the Parthenon, (B) to the right front of the Parthenon another smaller temple, the Erechtheum, (C) to the right of the Erechtheum the colossal bronze statue of Athena, (D) to the right of this the Entrance Gate or Propylaea.

The spur at the foot of the right or western end of the Acropolis is the Areopagus or Hill of Ares; and on the low hills to the right of this again is the Pnyx or open-air theatre of debate. [N.B. The dramatic theatre of Dionysus is out of sight on the farther slope of the Acropolis facing the sea.] In the town itself the market-place lies at the foot of the Acropolis and Areopagus; from the market-place an avenue of trees leads to the Dipylon Gate through which ran the Sacred road to Eleusis.

powerful fleet which helped to win the Battle of Salamis. Along with this economic development, too, had come an important political change. Artisans and traders are usually less conservative than agricultural peasants; and the growing population of Athens had asserted their independence against the nobility of landowners. They had established a real democracy in which the Many, not the Few, were to control the government.

This change, together with the national enthusiasm at the victory over Persia, bred a new spirit of enterprise and adventure in the Athenians. Soon this new spirit found scope. Across the Aegean many Greek towns and islands of the Asia Minor coast had recently fallen under Persian rule. Seeing the Persians defeated in Greece, these towns were eager to throw off the hated yoke: and they appealed to Sparta for aid. Sparta with characteristic caution hung back. But Athens accepted the role of leadership and threw all her energy into the crusade of liberation. Under the protection of her fleet was formed a confederacy of Greek maritime states. It had its centre at Delos and was called the Delian League. Its efforts were successful; and the Persians' attempts to recover their hold were frustrated. Then, feeling secure once more, many members of the League felt that its purpose was finished. But Athens thought otherwise; and one by one, as they tried to break away, she overcame them and reduced them to a state of subjection to herself. So Athens from being the leader of a voluntary confederacy became the mistress of an empire.

The final step in the transformation was taken when in 454 the common fund of the League was moved from the Treasury at Delos to the Acropolis or Citadel of Athens. The author of this high-handed act was Pericles, the great statesman who in the middle of the fifth century attained a commanding position in Athenian politics. Though constitutionally elected to office year by year, he made himself by sheer force of character the virtual dictator of Athens and for thirty years he maintained his unique authority as the leader and guide of her young democracy.

Under Pericles' administration the power of the city went from strength to strength. The subjects of her Empire were ruled with a firm hand. The fund formed from the tax which they still paid into her treasury accumulated steadily. Throughout the Aegean trade flourished under the protection of her all-powerful fleet. The population multiplied. Foreigners came to settle; and the city grew rich as no other Greek city had been rich before. Above all, the artistic and literary genius of its members was developed to a pitch unrivalled in the history of the world. For Pericles was an enthusiastic patron of the arts. He built temples which were supreme masterpieces of architecture. He gathered round him a company of sculptors, poets, historians, and thinkers whose names must rank among the greatest of all time. In a word, he made Athens, as he himself boasted, an 'education to Greece'.

In culture, therefore, as in power, Athens now far outshone her sister-states of Greece; and partly for this reason, partly because from such portions of her literature as still survive we can know more of her than of the other states, it will be well henceforward to concentrate almost exclusively upon the various aspects of Athenian life. Broadly speaking, though other states lagged far behind the brilliance of Athens' democracy, we may take what is said about her ways and customs as more or less typical of the rest.

V

ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

I. POLITICS

In these days of huge national states whose population is numbered by the million and of empires which extend over many continents, it is very difficult to form a clear idea of what democracy meant in a Greek city-state. We call England a democracy; but in point of fact the political activities and

interests of the average Englishman are very limited. He casts a vote at parliamentary elections once in every five years. Perhaps he reads the newspaper summaries of parliamentary debates at times of particular crisis. It is hard, in short, for the average

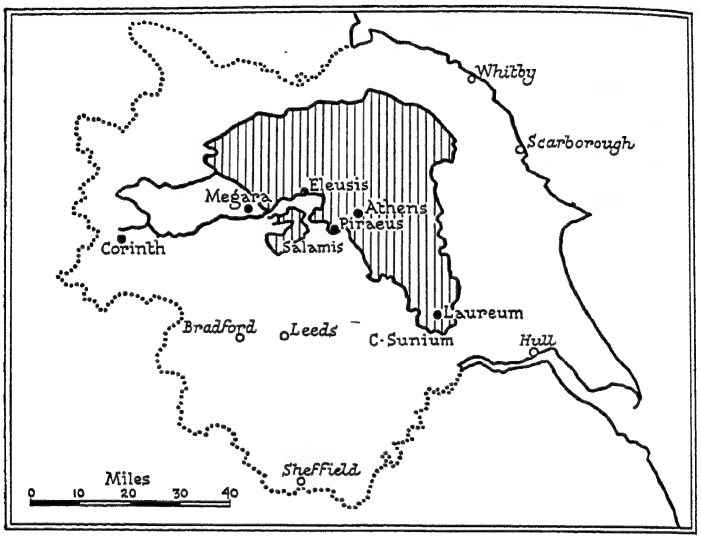


FIG. 15. MAP OF ATTICA, PLACED FOR COMPARISON IN YORKSHIRE

man to believe that he has very much to do with what goes on at Westminster.

But in Athens it was far otherwise. There any decision that was taken was apt to have an instantaneous and profound effect on the citizen's daily life; and, what was more important still, every citizen had a direct share in the making of those decisions. For every adult male—unless he were a slave or a foreigner residing in Athens—was entitled to vote in the general Assembly or Ecclesia; and in all matters of importance the Assembly of citizens had the final say. It is as though the management of a

school was controlled not by the head master or a body of governors, but by a Debating Society consisting of the pupils themselves. We can easily picture with what interest and enthusiasm such a Debating Society's meetings and proceedings would be followed by every member of the school.

So, when an Assembly met at Athens (as it did at stated intervals), a considerable proportion of the citizens would be there. Outlying farmers might find it difficult to attend: but residents in the capital were expected to be present; and loungers were swept out of the market-place by a rope well drenched in vermilion. A stain of red on a man's cloak meant a fine; for the Athenians did not hold with the shirking of public duties.

The meeting took place soon after dawn, and was held in a sort of rude open-air theatre upon a sloping hill-side called the Pnyx. A herald ordained silence. Prayers were offered by a priest and a black pig was sacrificed. For superstition still played a large part even in political ceremonies; and if an earthquake shock were felt or a drop of rain fell, the bad omen was considered sufficient cause for adjourning the meeting. A committee of the Council (of which more shall be said) presided over the debate, and when they had taken their places business began.

'Who wishes to speak?' cried the herald; and whoever was for addressing the meeting mounted a platform hewn from the rock. Speeches were followed with eager attention, the audience shouting applause or booing and hissing in displeasure. The officials of the state took, of course, a leading part in the debates. After Pericles' death demagogues arose—men of low birth and still lower principles who appealed to the worst instincts of the mob. One named Cleon was notorious for his vulgar and violent behaviour on the platform. He ranted, strode about, waved his arms, bared his leg and slapped his thigh in a most undignified manner. From the historian Thucydides we have a vivid picture of this man's first political triumph. Athens was at war with

Sparta at the time; and her fleet had succeeded in isolating a detachment of enemy troops on the island of Sphacteria. But her commanders had utterly failed to push home their advantage. '*Cleon sarcastically declared that, if the generals were good for anything, they might easily capture the men and that, were he himself a general, he would certainly do so. . . . Nicias (who was one of the generals) replied that, so far as they were concerned, he might take what forces he wanted and make the attempt. Fancying Nicias' offer to be mere pretence, Cleon at first was quite willing to go, but when he perceived that it was made in good earnest, he tried to back out, saying that Nicias and not he was general. . . . But the more Cleon declined the proffered command, so much the more did the mob, as their manner is, urge Nicias to resign and shout to Cleon to sail. At length, not knowing how to escape from his own rash words, Cleon undertook the expedition and pledged his word that within twenty days he would either bring back the Spartans prisoner or kill them on the spot. . . . His vain boast moved the Athenians to laughter; but the wiser sort reflected with glee that of two good things one was certain—either there would be an end of Cleon, which they greatly preferred, or else he would put the Spartans into their hands.*'

Actually Cleon made good his astonishing boast. But demagogues were not always as shrewd or so successful as he; and Athens paid dearly for the readiness of the mob to throw over the more trusty commanders at the bidding of low-mouthed agitators.[1]

Attendance at Assembly was only one side of a citizen's political activities. In many other ways he might take a part in the government of his country. For in another respect an Athenian's notion of politics was very different from our own. Nowadays, for the most part, we are ruled by officials paid and retained by the state—civil servants, judges, tax-collectors,

[1] Voting was sometimes ascertained by a deliberate count, but usually by a show of hands.

inspectors of education, health-officers, and other salaried experts. Now, with their passion for freedom, the democratic Athenians were loth to trust power in the hands of such permanent officials. They preferred to leave the administration to ordinary citizens who at the end of their year's office would retire again into private life and let other ordinary citizens take their place. So all public posts were filled by unpaid volunteers; and first and last a man might serve the state in many different capacities.

First, in his own 'deme' or parish there would be many minor jobs to be done; and in these a public-spirited citizen might serve his political apprenticeship. Next, he might aspire to election to the central State-Council of five hundred members which carried on current business while the Assembly was not sitting and prepared the motions for the Assembly's discussion. At the Assembly's meetings a committee of the Council presided, the councillors taking it in turns to act chairman for the day; so one fine morning our friend might find himself in this responsible position and for a proud twenty-four hours might hold the Treasury keys in his keeping.

If he were more ambitious still, our public-spirited friend might stand for the office of archon at the annual election, and, if successful, might preside over trials in the law courts or superintend the religious ceremonial of the state. Finally, he might even be elected a general, which in peace time would give him wide powers of financial administration and, in war, the command of an army or fleet. But, whereas the lesser officials, such as archons and councillors, were selected *by lot* from men chosen by the local constituencies, the generals were elected by a direct vote of the people; so that, as a rule, only men of influence or tried capacity could rise to this supreme position. Nevertheless, persons of humble origin sometimes made their way to the top. Cleon was a leather-merchant; and another successful upstart was a maker of lyres. So far did the

Athenians go in their preference for the amateur rather than the professional man.

Meanwhile, besides a large variety of other posts—market-inspectors, dock-superintendents, and so forth—which occupied a considerable number of citizens, there was one further capacity in which the richer folk at any rate might serve the state. Taxation was no more popular at Athens than elsewhere. But since there were no salaried posts, the requirements of the Exchequer were normally met by the proceeds of harbour-dues and legal fines, to say nothing of the revenue from silver-mines or the tribute paid by the allies. For certain purposes, however, it was found desirable to call on the wealthier citizens to put their hands in their pockets. The equipment of state galleys, for instance, and the production of plays at the annual dramatic competitions were financed in this manner. Names were taken from the lists in rotation. A man could, if he chose, evade his responsibility by proving some one else to be wealthier than himself. But, as a rule, he would take a pride in performing his duty. In the production of plays there was the keenest possible rivalry in providing the richest costumes and training the most efficient chorus. If his play proved successful in the competition, a man would even put up some monument in the public streets to commemorate his victory.

II. THE LAW COURTS

Extraordinary as it may appear, the preservation of order at Athens was entrusted not to citizens but to foreigners—and foreign slaves at that. For the idea of one citizen acting policeman over another was utterly distasteful. So the state employed a corps of barbarian archers, drawn from the Scythian tribesmen of the north and clad in their native trousers and high-peaked, tight-fitting caps. They lived in tents not far from the Acropolis, or Citadel.

Even in the administration of justice the same dislike of

officialdom prevailed. There was no such thing as a public prosecutor at Athens. It was left to private individuals to prosecute even in cases of theft, murder, high treason, and other crimes against society. Various forms of procedure were, of course, employed according to the nature of the crime. Homicide was dealt with by a special court of elders which sat on the Areopagus, or 'Hill of Ares', mentioned under its Latin name in the Biblical account of St. Paul's visit to the city. Criminal cases were treated in a different fashion from civil disputes about property or contracts. But it was always left to some individual citizen to take the first step. He would begin by serving a summons on the offender in the presence of witnesses. Then after an interval the two would appear before a magistrate; and a preliminary hearing of the case would take place. At this hearing evidence would be taken down by a clerk. The testimony of slaves was always elicited under torture, on the assumption that only so could they be trusted to tell the truth against their master. Copies of laws and other documents might be produced; and when all the relevant material was complete, it was put in a box and sealed up.

After another interval, the trial proper took place before a jury. A magistrate presided, but the verdict was left entirely to a body of citizen-jurors. To the quick-witted Athenians the chance of hearing a good piece of rhetorical argument was a form of intellectual entertainment. There was therefore no disinclination to serve on the panel. Moreover, jurors were paid a small fee for their trouble; and a large number of candidates, drawn mainly from the elderly or unemployed, were always waiting round the court doors in the morning. The size of the juries was large—numbering 201, 401, or sometimes even more. Until the day of the trial none knew who would serve; bribery was out of the question.

The court was in the open air. It contained benches for jurors and a platform for speakers. The witnesses would be in

attendance, but only to attest the accuracy of their statements, a copy of which was produced from the sealed box and read aloud. There was no regular cross-examination. Each party made a long speech, a time-limit being set by a water-clock which worked on the same principle as a sand-glass. No professional pleaders were allowed, and the litigants were compelled to address the court in person. There was, however, nothing to prevent the inexperienced from getting a practised speech-writer to compose a speech for them. This was frequently done, and numerous samples still survive. Many dealt with disputes about property or contracts. We have one speech concerned with a quarrel over a certain plot of ground which one man declared to be part of his orchard, and the other to be a watercourse running down a public footpath. Another speech, written for a young man who complained of assault and battery, gives us a vivid picture of Athenian 'horse-play'. First he is careful to explain the origin of his feud with the defendants—how, when he was doing his two years' service with the army, they had bullied him disgracefully, '*falling upon him, beating him, and emptying the slops over him*', till '*such was the uproar round the tent that the general and other officers rushed out in the nick of time to prevent serious damage being done*'. Next he describes how, when back in Athens, these desperate fellows had reeled out one evening from a bout of heavy drinking and encountering him in the street had '*stripped him of his cloak, tripped him up, rolled him in the mud, and jumped on him to such effect that his lip was cut and his eye bunged up*', and finally, one of them mounted on the body of his prostrate victim, '*crowing like a cock and flapping his arms against his sides in imitation of wings*'. After much long-winded argument the speech concludes with a contrast between the scandalous lives led by the alleged assailants and the exemplary character of the young man himself. Arguments were employed which would never be admitted in an English law-court. Politics were dragged in on the least

opportunity. Appeals for pity were frequent; and sometimes the accused would parade his children in rags and claim indulgence on the score of domestic responsibilities. The jurymen were clearly susceptible to such emotional appeals. They expressed their feelings by shouts, stamping, and groans. Sometimes speakers were forced to protest against the frequent

FIG. 16. JUROR'S TICKET AND OBOL

The ticket is inscribed with the juror's name, Epicrates, and his 'deme' or parish, Skabo. He would receive as his day's pay three tiny silver *obols* of which front and back is here shown

interruptions. Nevertheless, verdicts would seem to have been tolerably fair. Juries may have had little accurate knowledge of the niceties of law; but they were shrewd judges of their neighbour's character and could distinguish the honest man from the knave. We know that the Athenian courts were famous for the high standard of justice.

The voting was by ballot. Each juror was provided with a mussel-shell which at the close of the trial he placed in one or other of two jars, for condemnation or acquittal. If the penalty was not defined by statute, conviction was followed by a second vote on the nature of the sentence. Either side could propose a penalty. The jury then decided between their suggestions by a second vote.

The penalties under Athenian law varied between fines,

disfranchisement, exile, and death. Imprisonment was not favoured; for there was no adequate provision for keeping men long in jail, and in all probability sentiment was against it. Those under condemnation of death were sometimes kept under lock and key for a while. The method of execution was merciful. The condemned man drank a dose of hemlock which caused gradual paralysis of the limbs till death supervened.

III. MILITARY AND NAVAL DUTIES

No picture of an Athenian citizen's public responsibilities would be complete without some allusion to his military duties. It was, of course, the rule of every Greek city-state that its inhabitants might be called upon to bear arms. Wars were frequent; and at the end of Pericles' lifetime the antagonism of Athens and Sparta brought on a war which lasted on and off for twenty-seven years.[1] Thus most of the Athenian citizen-body were engaged at frequent intervals in one form or another of war service.

At eighteen, on coming of age, a young man was enrolled in a corps known as the Epheboi, and for two years underwent his military training. At enrolment, he would swear an oath of loyalty to the state: '*I will not disgrace my sacred weapons nor desert the comrade at my side. I will fight for things holy and things profane, whether I am alone or with others. I will hand on my fatherland greater and better than I found it. I will hearken to the magistrates and obey the existing laws and those hereafter established by the people. . . . I will honour the temples and the religion which my forefathers established. So help me Aglauros,*

[1] This war is known as the Peloponnesian War.

EPHEBE'S GRAVE (*see opposite*)

This vase-painting shows the gravestone of a youth; who, clad in Ephebe's cloak or 'chlamys', is represented as standing by his own tomb on which a girl is placing offerings from a basket.

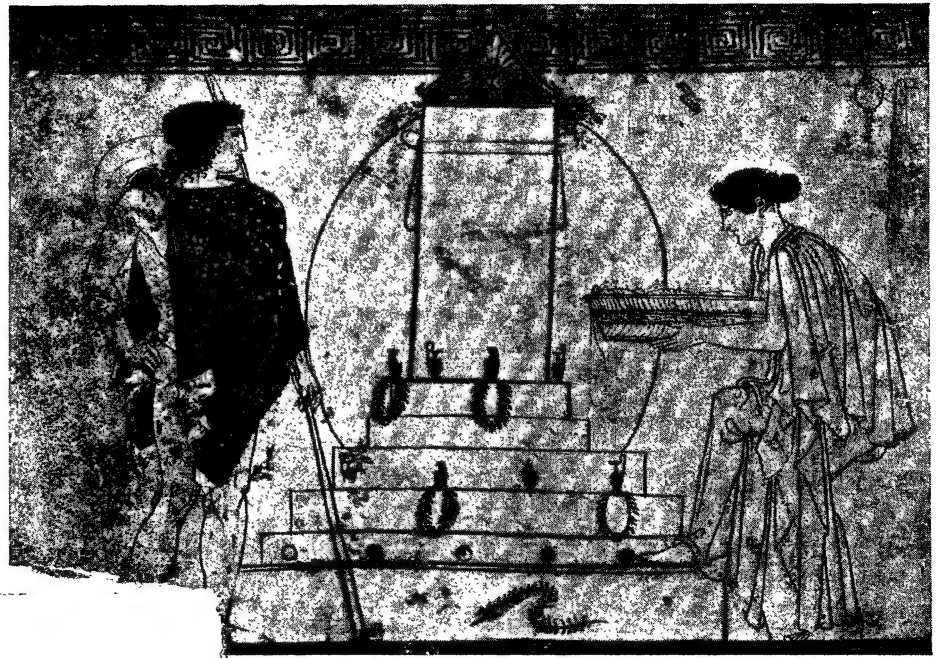


FIG. 17. EPHEBE'S GRAVE

The expedition failed. Not one of its members ever saw their homes again; and the disaster was the beginning of Athens' tragic downfall.

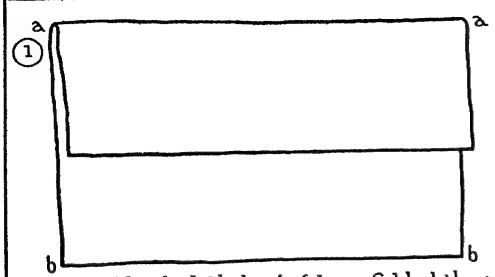
VI

DAILY LIFE IN ATHENS

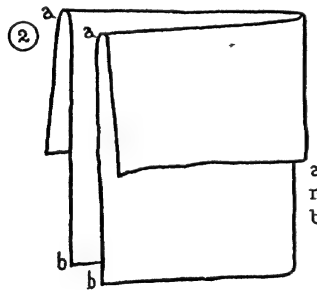
I. CLIMATE, CLOTHES, HOUSES, ETC.

To appreciate the conditions of a people's daily life it is essential to know something of their climate. The climate of Attica, as of the rest of Greece, was extremely dry. For a month or two in winter there might be rains, or even snow which, though soon melted on the plains, would linger on the hill-tops. Occasionally, too, in summer, thunder-clouds would suddenly gather and come down in a deluge, sending swollen torrents racing down the ravines among the mountains. Otherwise, however, these torrent-beds are waterless, and even the rivers for the most part a mere trickle. For during spring, summer, and autumn cloudless skies last day after day. Dawn rises fresh and cool, with an invigorating sparkle in the air giving a sense as of clear spring water. But long before noon the sun is scorching hot and the whole country-side athirst. Lizards creep out of the wall-crannies to bask; crickets chirrup loudly among the grasses; and underfoot the dust lies inches deep. The afternoon wanes and then the sun goes down in a glory of molten gold. A flush steals over the hoary foliage of the olives. On the Citadel the temple of the goddess Athena catches the last rays and its marble pillars turn rosy with the glow. Behind them the huge mass of Mount Hymettus changes from blue to violet and from violet to deep purple, till darkness falls suddenly, and under a starry sky the plain resounds with the chorus of frogs croaking in the marshes.

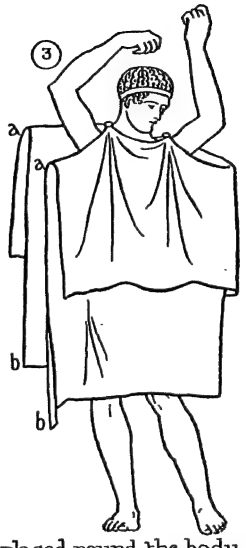
The influence of such a climate may be traced in many aspects of the Athenians' daily life. Their clothing, in the first place,



An oblong cloth, having been folded thus,



and then refolded thus,



is placed round the body thus and pinned together over each shoulder:

The folds are allowed to drop: the open side is secured by pins: and as a rule a girdle is passed round the waist.

This form of dress was known as the DORIC CHITŌN. Women wore it falling to the ankle.

FIG. 20

was admirably adapted to its alternations of heat and occasional cold. Their normal dress consisted of two garments, each of which was nothing more elaborate than an oblong piece of woollen cloth. The undergarment or tunic was doubled round the body, pinned over each shoulder, and its hanging folds caught and held in place by a girdle at the waist. The men's tunic fell to the knee, the women's lower. Workmen would disencumber their right arm by undoing one shoulder-pin and leaving the right breast and shoulder bare. Over the tunic was thrown a cloak of somewhat thicker material which in winter could be wrapped tightly round the body or in summer so arranged as to leave the limbs more free. Workers would of course dispense with the cloak while at their labour; and persons who aped the Spartan reputation for toughness sometimes did without the tunic. Sandals and boots of various types were worn; but not hats, except on a journey. For sport and exercise it was usual to strip completely. The Greeks were quite innocent of shame about the exposure of the body; and even at public games the athletes appeared naked.

In the second place, the character of the climate influenced to a large degree the planning of private houses.[1] The country-house, it is true, still followed the simple plan of the Homeric Age, and consisted of a living-room with a central hearth and a courtyard surrounded by a pent-house or veranda. In the city, where space was precious, such a lay-out was impracticable; and the Greeks, feeling the need for air and sunlight, placed the court-yard in the centre of their houses, surrounding it, as before, by a veranda supported upon stone or wooden pillars. In this miniature cloister there was shade to be found in summer and shelter from winter winds. Meals might be taken there; and much of the household business, such as spinning and so forth, done. But there was usually a large room for dinner-parties

[1] *Oikia* or *oikos* (= house) is found in such words as 'economy' (= oeconomy), the rules of running a household.

adjoining. The sleeping rooms opened off the central court; and the womenfolk had separate quarters on the side farthest from the front door. Light filtered into the rooms through the doorways opening on the courtyard. Externally, beyond a small spy-hole for the porter, there were no windows; and the house presented a blank wall to the street. Apart from the front door, which might be supported or flanked with pillars, there was no attempt at outside decoration; and the favourite building-material was unbaked brick, so far from durable that burglars went to work by *digging* through the walls.

At a later age, indeed, private houses grew more pretentious in style; but in the fifth century B.C. they were of an extreme simplicity. The Greeks did not choose to employ their agile wits in devising aids to physical comfort, which they affected to despise as more suitable to the soft, luxurious races of the East. There was no regular heating-apparatus, such as the Romans used; in winter-time a brazier of charcoal was carried into the rooms. Bathing was generally done at the public bath-house or the gymnasium. The rooms, as we have hinted, must have been exceedingly draughty; for only curtains seem to have covered the doorways. The floors were of beaten earth and there were no carpets. Furniture, if elegant, was austere, consisting mainly of stools, benches, and chests. There was no drainage system whatever. Slops were thrown into the street with a warning cry to passers-by; and the narrow winding alleys of which Athens was composed must have been very insanitary.

In the third place the climate favoured an open-air life, and the Athenians took full advantage of the fact. The indoor man and stay-at-home was regarded as a churl. Everywhere there was an atmosphere of genial sociability, very different from the life of our great towns and suburbs where neighbours often scarcely know one another to speak to. '*We have no sour looks for those around us*,' said Pericles in a famous speech which he made in praise of the Athenian character. As Greek cities

we[illegible] the population of Athens was very large; but even so mo[illegible] citizens must have known a large number of their fellows by sight. As in a public school, there were characters that every one recognized—the fat man Cleonymus, or Cleisthenes the effeminate fop. Comic playwrights could always raise a laugh by alluding to them. There were nicknames, too, by which even adults were known—the Bat and the Monkey, and so forth. Men fell naturally into social sets—the young bloods, for instance, who belonged to aristocratic families, wore their hair long and rode in the cavalry. Young men formed themselves into clubs, calling themselves fancy names, such as 'the Rips' or 'the Independents', and would amuse themselves by waylaying inoffensive folk at nights. But on the whole there was very little snobbery or social exclusiveness at Athens. As Plato's dialogues show, men formed readily into groups and did not stand on ceremony with a stranger. The gymnasium and wrestling-ground were common resorts. When Socrates got back from the wars, so Plato relates, he went straight to one of these and every one jumped up to greet him and ask the news from the front. Conversation never flagged. For the Greeks were never so happy as when talking. Some of the more old-fashioned no doubt maintained a dignified gravity of demeanour; but the majority, as we may guess, were less restrained; and their excitable chatter would doubtless be accompanied, as it is to-day, by frequent shrugs of the shoulders and lively gesticulation of the hands. For they were a race of actors born. They were no mere loungers, preferring always to stand rather than sit, which they considered a slavish posture. Often, while talking, they would pace up and down, wheeling in a regular line if there were many of them. Walking was a very popular form of exercise; and they thought nothing of a tramp to the Piraeus, five miles off, and back again. Here is a delightful account which Plato gives of a stroll by the Ilissus, one of the sluggish rivers which flows hard by the city:

'Come, friend,' says Socrates, *'have we not reached the plane tree towards which you were to lead us? A fair resting-place, in sooth, full of summer sounds and scents. Here is the lofty and spreading plane, and the* agnus castus *high and clustering, in fullest bloom and the greatest fragrance; and the stream which flows beneath the plane-tree is deliciously cool to the feet. Judging by the ornaments and images the spot must surely be sacred to Acheloüs and the Nymphs. How delightful is the breeze—so very sweet; and there is a sound in the air shrill and summerlike which makes answer to the chorus of the* cicadas. *But the greatest charm is the grass, like a pillow gently sloping to the head. My dear Phaedrus, you have been an admirable guide.'*

But, if the Greek could appreciate the country-side, he perhaps loved the city more; and his favourite resort was the market-place or Agora. It lay in the middle of Athens, close under the northern slope of the Acropolis itself. At that end were several important public buildings, such as the hall in which the State-Council held its sessions. Along the sides were colonnades with stately rows of pillars and brightly frescoed walls. One, the Painted Stoa, gave its name to the Stoic philosophers who originally foregathered and found their pupils there. In the central space are set rows of temporary stalls and booths. Here the country-folk bring their produce to sell. In one part will be greengrocers' stalls; in another bakers'. Fishmongers have a pitch to themselves, with a crier to ring his bell when the market is open. Elsewhere bankers and money-changers erect their tables; and much commercial business is done. Everywhere is a babel of voices; and at time of full market the whole space is crowded. Many walk up and down in the adjacent colonnades. Groups form; and conversation flows freely, ranging over all manner of topics, from vulgar gossip to political or even philosophic discussion.

An Athenian's day began at dawn or earlier; for oil-lamps were a poor substitute for sunlight which few could afford to

waste. Fast was broken by a sop of bread dipped in wine, corresponding to the coffee and roll with which the continental folk of modern times begin their day. Thus fortified, our citizen friend (whom we will suppose to be a man of means and so of ample leisure) would sally forth from his house. First, perhaps, he would pay a call on some friend; but sooner or later he would make his way to the market. He would carry a staff; and if particular about his dress, he would be at some pains to drape the folds of his cloak in the approved style of the day. He would walk, too, at a dignified pace; for a bustling gait was thought vulgar and Socrates was much ridiculed for swinging his arms in the air. A slave or two would probably be in attendance; and friends would soon fall in alongside.

Our citizen's first destination would be the barber's shop. Among Greeks shaving was not the fashion until Alexander the Great set it. But great care was lavished on the dressing of the hair; and, as a Persian spy noted with surprise on the eve of the battle of Thermopylae, even the Spartans spent much time in combing and plaiting their long tresses. Another operation performed at the barber's was treatment of the eyes for ophthalmia, a complaint rendered very common by the dust of the streets. While awaiting his turn, our friend would chat with many others who were similarly engaged. The barber's shop was a recognized centre for picking up gossip; and the news of the disaster which befell the Athenian expedition to Sicily was first learnt from a casual stranger who landed at the Piraeus and dropped into a barber's for his toilette.

By this time—about nine a.m.—the market would be filling. Purchases would be made and sent home by a slave. Business might be done at the banker's. Then, at noon, it would be time for lunch—a light meal which men often preferred to bring with them and eat in the open rather than return home again. After lunch some Greeks enjoyed a siesta; and history tells of a town which was captured by surprise attack when the inhabitants

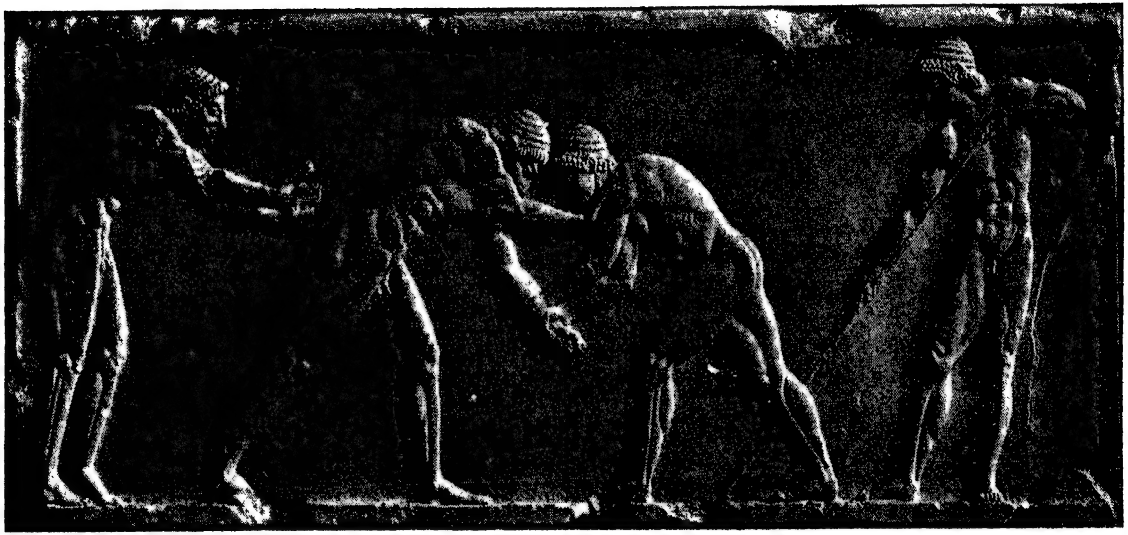


FIG. 21. PALAESTRA SCENE

In the centre are two wrestlers, on the left a youth in the attitude of preparing to jump, on the right a javelin-thrower.

were engaged in their midday nap. But in the Athens of Pericles' time the habit was not much approved.

As the afternoon wore on, exercise was taken as a prelude to supper. Public gymnasia were available for all; and here even the middle-aged would strip for various forms of sport, of which more shall be said in a succeeding chapter. There is an entertaining vase-painting in one of our museums which depicts a man undressing while a bystander points derisively at the ridiculous proportions of his extremely rotund figure.

Exercise over, a bath followed. A slave would be in attendance with the indispensable oil-flask (for oil in those days served the purpose of soap). First he would anoint his master's body liberally, then scrape away both grease and dirt together with a metal instrument or strigil. A cold douche from a pitcher would complete the cleansing process. Warm baths, which came into fashion towards the end of the fifth century, were denounced by the more conservative as a demoralizing innovation.

II. MEALS

Dinner, which was the chief meal of the day, began in late afternoon. In sociable Athens it was usual to ask guests to share it. Men alone were invited; and no respectable lady ever took her meals in the company of male visitors. The dining-room would be arranged with couches; for the Greeks reclined at length for meals, propping themselves on the pillows so as to leave the right arm free. First, sandals would be removed, and the feet, dusty from the walk through the street, would be washed by slave attendants. Next, garlands for the head would be handed round; and then the food would be brought in on small stools or tables, one for each diner. The Greeks, unlike the Romans, were comparatively light eaters. They had a positive distaste for butcher's meat; and an army campaigning in a foreign country where no other diet was procurable felt itself hardly used. Occasionally, perhaps, at festival-time, when a sheep or pig was

sacrificed, mutton or pork would follow at supper. But normally nothing more solid than sausage or black-pudding was in favour. Eggs, fish, cheese (with sometimes hare or pigeon) were the staple dishes. The working class was much addicted to brotl and a sort of barley-meal porridge. Fresh fish, supplied from the local shores, could be bought in the market; but as a rule the Athenians preferred it salted and dried like bloaters. Their taste seems to have been for strong savours. Of all vegetables—and these they ate in great quantities—they preferred the garlic, a disgustingly pungent herb. Most dishes were heavily drenched with olive-oil, which also filled the place of butter for frying. Honey was used for sweetening. For special occasions more elaborate dainties were prepared, and we hear of an omelette which was compounded of milk, eggs, flour, brains, fresh cheese, and honey cooked in rich broth, and served up in a fig-leaf wrapper.

No forks or knives appeared on the diners' tables. A carver dissected any viands which required it. Fingers did the rest; but sometimes ladles moulded out of bread did duty for spoons, and after use were thrown on to the floor. When appetites were satisfied, slaves swept up all the refuse, removed the tables, and brought them in again laden with dessert. This consisted of nuts, olives, figs, cakes, and sweet-meats, but these only as an accompaniment to the drinking which followed. Greek wine, as we have said, was a rich, syrup-like fluid, and was almost invariably diluted with water. Only the semi-civilized inhabitants of Macedon in the north took their drink neat. Wines varied in quality, the best hailing from the islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Rhodes. In some brands, as in modern Greece, resin was added, giving a tart flavour. The drinking was organized according to regular rules. A 'master of the feast' was chosen by lot, and he dictated the proportion in which water and wine should be mixed—most usually in the ratio of two to one. The mixing was done by the slaves in a large earthenware

bowl. From this the drink was ladled into the cups—broad shallow saucers raised on a delicate base, often of exquisite design and picked out with beautiful painted pictures.

The carouse would often last well on into the night. But the wine was, for a while at least, more apt to stimulate than to befuddle the brain; and witty talk was the rule. Sometimes, if we may judge from the dialogues of Xenophon and Plato, all manner of serious topics were discussed. In Xenophon's account of a banquet, '*when the tables were removed and the guests had poured a libation and sung a hymn, there entered a man from Syracuse to give them an evening's merriment. He had with him a fine flute-girl, a dancing-girl, and a very handsome boy who was expert at the cither and at dancing. The boy and girl first played, and all agreed that both had furnished capital amusement.*' Then, after a little talk, '*the girl began to accompany the dancer on the flute and the boy at her elbow handed her hoops which, as she danced, she kept throwing into the air, and catching again in regular rhythm. Finally a hoop was brought in, set round with upright swords, and the dancer, to the dismay of the onlookers, turned somersaults into the hoop and out again.*' '*After this admirable entertainment,*' says Socrates then, for he was one of the diners, '*should we not attempt to entertain one another?*' and invites the host to give a sample of his wit, and explain what skill or science of his own he is wont to set most store by. '*Certainly,*' replies the host, '*I will tell you my own chief pride. I believe I have the power to make men better.*' '*Make men better?*' cries another, '*By teaching them a handicraft or developing their characters, I'd like to know?*' and so the discussion begins which ranges on through a debate about Beauty and Love. At the 'Banquet' described by Plato the conversation centred round similar topics, and led to noble flights of philosophic argument.

Though exhibitions of dancing and so forth were frequently provided, it was also usual for the guests, as Socrates suggested, to furnish their own entertainment. Singing to the lyre was

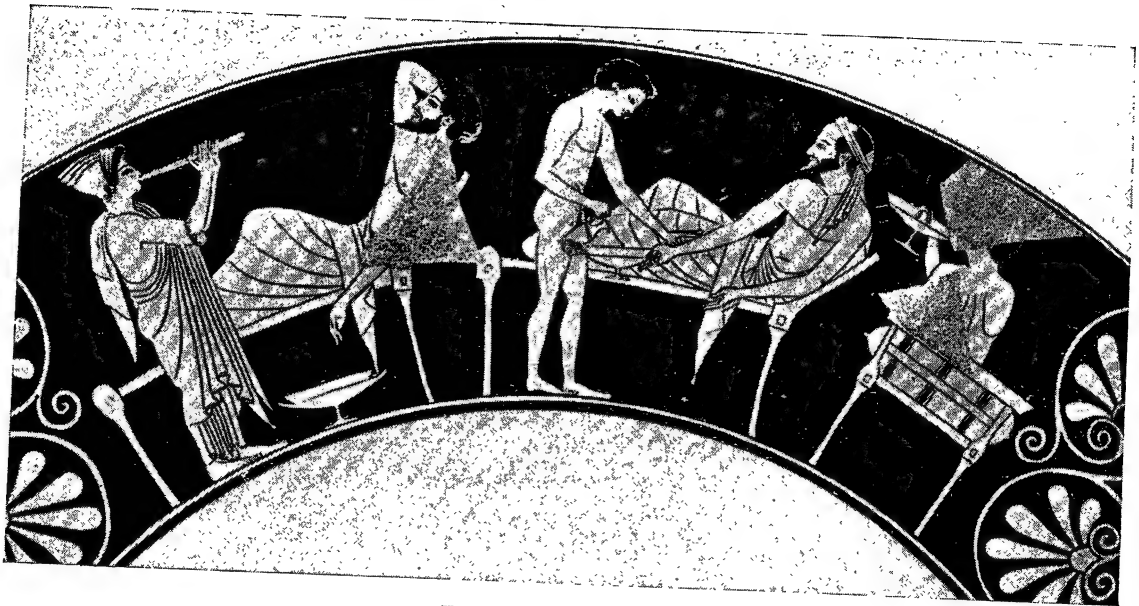


FIG. 22. A BANQUET

Three men recline on slender couches. A boy-slave pours wine into the drinking-cup of one; a girl-slave plays on the pipes.

an accomplishment of which most educated Athenians were capable. One favourite pastime was for the guests to sing round in turn, each singer capping the last with a song more or less connected in theme. Many of these drinking-songs were very beautiful; and here is a sample which must suffice:

Fruitful earth drinks up the rain;
Trees from earth drink that again;
Sea drinks air, and soon the sun
Drinks the sea and him the moon.
Is it reason then, d'ye think,
I should thirst when all else drink?

The asking of riddles was another form of diversion. Sometimes, too, games were played. The favourite after-dinner game was the 'Cottabos'. A little figure or mannikin was stuck up on the end of a tall pole and the revellers tried to see which could strike it with wine-dregs flipped out of their goblets. As each made his throw he called a toast to some love, 'This to the fair So-and-so.' Occasionally the wine got the better of the drinkers and the evening ended in a sad debauch. The concluding passage of Plato's 'Banquet' gives a strange picture. '*A band of revellers entered and spoiled the order of the banquet, compelling every one to drink large draughts of wine. Some of the guests went away; but Aristodemus* (who is telling the story) *fell asleep. Towards daybreak he was awakened by the crowing of the cocks, and found all the others had gone to sleep, save Socrates, Aristophanes, and Agathon, who were drinking out of a large goblet which they passed round. Socrates was discoursing to them; and the chief thing that Aristodemus could remember* (*for he was only half awake*) *was the philosopher compelling the other two to acknowledge that the genius of comedy and tragedy were really the same and that the true artist would excel in both. To this they consented perforce, being more than a little drowsy and not quite understanding the argument. Then first Aristophanes dropped off, and finally Agathon;*

and Socrates, having laid them both on the floor, got up and went his way.'

In spite of this, the Athenians were not a gross race, even in their cups. Their exuberant spirits sometimes ran into excess; but mere drinking for drinking's sake they left to the mighty topers of the north. It was not for nothing that they wove round the personality of the wine-god Bacchus many beautiful legends of symbolic mythology: and some of their most graceful poems were concerned with the theme or the imagery of the drinking-bout. One example may here be given, which the reader will doubtless know better in its Elizabethan guise, but which will best, perhaps, be reproduced in a plain prose translation—much closer to the more restrained and more exquisite original.

'*No wine-bibber I; but, if you would make me drink, taste first and pass to me and I will take it. For if you will touch it with your lips, no longer is it easy to keep sober or to escape the sweet wine-bearer; for the cup carries me the kiss from you and tells me of the favour that it had.*'

VII

WOMEN AND SLAVES

FROM what has been said already it will be clear that Athenian citizens enjoyed considerable leisure; and it is natural to inquire how this came about. The explanation lay partly in the character of their occupations. Farmers, for example, were not always busy; there were slack times between corn-harvest in May and the vintage in September, and again after the vintage till the olive-picking in late autumn. Sailors, similarly, were unoccupied during winter when storms made the sea unsafe. The craftsmen, being independent and not working for a regular employer, were masters of their own time, and could knock off work when they chose. Retail dealers, too, could close their shops to attend a political meeting or dramatic performance. The Greeks knew

an ill enough—what modern folk are sometimes apt to forget—that 'a pennyworth of ease is worth a penny'. Furthermore, we must remember that the work of the home was done by the womenfolk. In well-to-do households these were assisted by slaves; and there was a small class of really rich men who owned a large number of slaves and were under no necessity to work at all. Slaves and women therefore played a highly important part in the background of Athenian life; and it will be well to say something here of both in turn.

I. WOMEN

The position of women at Athens in the fifth century, and, indeed, in all Greece except Sparta, was very much lower than in the times of which Homer wrote. The home was very strictly their sphere; and life for them extended very little beyond it. It was considered improper, as we have seen, for respectable women to share the social entertainments of the men. Even if caught in the courtyard of the house by a male visitor, they would scuttle to the seclusion of their own apartments. They could only walk abroad in the streets if accompanied by a slave or other attendant. It was their business, as Pericles said in a speech recorded by Thucydides, to be 'spoken of as little as possible, whether for good or ill'.

During her maiden days an Athenian girl would remain constantly under the eye of her mother and learn to fulfil her domestic duties. She might never, like the stalwart Spartan maidens, share the sports and amusements of the boys. Her appearances in public would probably be confined to carrying a basket of flowers or a pitcher of water in some religious procession. Marriage was the inevitable goal to which her whole life tended. To remain a spinster was the worst disgrace which could befall a woman. When the two sexes saw so little of each other, love matches were out of the question; and the betrothal was arranged by the parents as a strictly business contract. The

FIG. 23. A MAIDEN

Sitting on a cushion and clad in long tunic or *chiton* and voluminous cloak, she is engaged in burning incense over a lamp.

amount of the dowry which the bride would bring with her had an important influence upon the intending husband's choice.

The wedding itself was a cheerful ceremony. The bride's girl friends would bring her presents; and a middle-aged dame—the female counterpart to the 'best man' of our modern weddings—would superintend her toilette. Sacrifice and prayers were offered at the domestic altar; and then the bride and bridegroom sat down in the company of the family friends to a light repast of sesame-cakes. Male and female guests, be it noted, were kept in separate portions of the room. At nightfall all lined up in procession, and to the light of pine-flares accompanied the wedded pair to the bridegroom's house; and the maidens sang a parting serenade.

So the wife passed into her husband's keeping. Her property became his, and in the eyes of the law she possessed no independent status. Throughout her life she remained always under the tutelage of some male, and, if left a widow, returned into the charge of her father or brother. Henceforward her duties centred in the management of the home. She would superintend the work of the slaves, especially the female ones. She would attend to the making and mending of her husband's clothes. Spinning was an unfailing occupation and took the place of the knitting of to-day. A wad of raw wool, previously carded and cleaned, would be placed on the end of a tall stick or distaff; an end would be drawn out between the fingers and attached to an earthenware or metal 'spindle' shaped something like a top; the spindle would be set twirling as it hung and would twist the wool into thread under the guidance of nimble fingers. Weaving, too, was sometimes done at home; and much time would be spent in unfolding and refolding the numerous garments which were kept stored in the family chest.

LADY'S TOMBSTONE (*see opposite*)

This relief, from the Cerameicus or Cemetery of Ancient Athens, shows a seated lady examining her jewel-box.

FIG. 24. LADY'S TOMBSTONE

Personal adornment would not, of course, be neglected; for a prudent wife must maintain her attraction for her husband. So the jewellery casket would come out and perhaps the rouge-pot, too, when she expected his home-coming; and, if no male guests were invited, she might sit down at meal-time beside the couch on which her husband would lie reclined.

But, if an Athenian wife played no unimportant part in relieving her husband of domestic worries, she was most certainly no mere drudge.[1] Limited as her life was, there is no reason to suppose her downtrodden or unhappy. In the sculptured representations which we possess of Athenian matrons, they are shown as fine upstanding creatures, fit mothers for a race of wiry athletes. There is much, too, to show that marriages begun as a business contract developed into a bond of lifelong and heart-felt devotion. From Xenophon we have a charming description of a husband's preliminary advices to his ignorant young wife. '*When she came to me*', the man says, '*she was not yet fifteen years old and had lived under the strictest surveillance that she might see, hear, or inquire as little as possible. It was not enough, surely, that she should know how to weave a garment or weigh out the materials for her maids; though I'm bound to say she came to me very well trained in matters of cookery.*' . . . Then, after describing at length the good advice he had given to the girl, he ends his first lecture like this: '*The greatest pleasure to me will be this, that, if you prove yourself my superior, you will make me your servant and there will be no fear lest with advancing years your influence will wane; nay, the better companion you are to me and the better guardian of the house to our children, the greater will be the esteem in which you are held at home; and all will admire you, not so much for your good looks as for your good deeds in practical life.*'

There are many touching epitaphs which commemorate a

[1] Socrates' wife Xanthippe was a shrew and her husband was thoroughly afraid of her.

woman's life which had fulfilled this high ideal; and one may be given here:

'*Atthis, who didst live for me and breathe thy last toward me, once the source of all my joy and now of tears, holy, much lamented, how sleepest thou the mournful sleep, thou whose head was never laid away from thy husband's breast, leaving Theios alone as one who is no more; for with thee the hope of our life went to darkness.*'

II. SLAVES

Slaves were so numerous at Athens that some historians believe they outnumbered the free population. The greater part of them were drawn from barbarian countries, especially from Thrace, the coast-lands of the Black Sea, Asia Minor, and the Levant. Some were the captives of war; but most the victims of professional kidnappers. Foreign names were usual, such as the 'Thracian'—as we might say 'Sambo'—or descriptive nicknames like 'Sandy' or 'Carrots'. In a society where slavery was an accepted practice, few persons were likely to trouble their heads about the rights or the wrongs of it. But when they did, they argued, like the philosopher Aristotle, that barbarian peoples, being incapable of an independent political existence, were intended by nature to work in the service of the more civilized. On the other hand, public opinion did not favour the enslavement of Greeks by Greeks. It was something of a scandal, therefore, when in the bitterness of war a state would sell its prisoners into captivity.

It was a terrible day for the freedom-loving Greek when he suddenly found himself a helpless chattel at the mercy of a master who might, if he pleased, make his life unendurable. Punishments in those days were pretty brutal; the lash, the pillory, and even branding were common enough for thieving slaves or runaways. Even torture, as we have seen, was permitted by law when a slave's evidence was required in a trial. '*Treat him as you please,*' says a character in one of Aristophanes' plays,

'*put hot bricks on him, pour acid down his nose, flay him, rack him, string him up, give him the "Cat"*,' and, though allowance must be made for comic exaggeration, the savage spirit of the words tells a certain tale.

On the other hand, there can be little doubt that the Athenians treated their slaves well. The law even safeguarded them to a certain measure against excessive brutality. It was not permitted to put a slave to death. Unprovoked assault laid the assailant open to prosecution; it is probable that a legal limit of fifty strokes was set to floggings. We are definitely told that slaves at Athens were anything but cringing creatures. They would even elbow passers-by out of their way in the street; and the trouble was that it was unsafe to punch their heads; for in dress and appearance they were so like the free-born citizens that it was quite easy to make a mistake. In Aristophanes' play above mentioned the comic slave called Xanthias is as pert and outspoken as Sam Weller in *Pickwick*; and he loses no opportunity of scoring off his noodle of a master.

The fact is that the Athenians knew well enough that lenience paid. Slaves worked better when well treated. In the home they were frequently accepted almost as one of the family. Many were given skilful and responsible jobs. Out of the score or so of slaves whom a well-to-do citizen kept, there would be clerks and copyists as well as menial workers. In the craft-shops, too, large gangs of slaves were frequently employed alongside of free-born labourers. They were even given wages and allowed to accumulate savings, with the prospect that eventually they might purchase their freedom. Generous masters sometimes gave them their liberty as a reward for long service. When freed, they enjoyed the same rights as resident foreigners; some rose to a position of prosperous independence. One became a celebrated banker.

There was one form of servile employment, however, which stands by itself and which sheds a terrible sidelight on the

nature of Athens' social morality. We have spoken above of the silver mines which were situated at Laureum, near the Land's End of Attica. They were worked by private enterprise, and the actual work was done by gangs of slaves. Nicias the general is known to have owned a thousand. The lowest and most savage type, who were unfit for domestic service, were usually employed for the purpose. But, if not already brutalized, they must soon have become so under the horrible conditions of their life. The ore was extracted by the sinking of shafts and long, horizontal galleries which ran for miles under the hill-side. Down these the slaves were sent, nearly naked and shackled in chains. Lamps were carried, and, since those which have been found were calculated to burn for ten hours, that must almost certainly have been the length of a shift. Gangs were sent down in relays, so that digging continued night and day. No respite or hope of liberty was allowed them. Death must have been a merciful release. During the Peloponnesian War many thousands of Attic slaves are said to have deserted to the enemy; it is to be hoped that many mine-slaves were among them.

VIII

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

AFTER all that has been said about the Athenian citizen's idle hours, it is high time that something should be added about his busy ones. For busy he was by nature; and when he worked, he worked with a zest. Aristocrats like Nicias, the owner of a thousand slaves, might be able to devote themselves exclusively to politics; but most Athenians had to work for a living. We will take their various callings one by one.

Agriculture must stand first. For, though the city's prosperity was based mainly on her industries and commerce, a large proportion of the inhabitants of Attica still lived on the soil.

The day of large landowners was over; and most of the farms were worked by small peasant proprietors. Home-grown crops supplied little more than a third of the corn needed by the swollen population of the capital, the rest coming from abroad. This was due mainly to the poor quality of the soil; for the Attic plains were fairly wide. The level ground could easily be ploughed with ox-teams; and sometimes even the lower slopes of the hill-side were terraced into tiny fields. Harvest took place early, sometime between April and June. The standing corn was cut, as in Homeric times, with a sickle; and, as then, threshing was done by oxen which moved round and round on a floor of beaten earth, trampling out the grain from the straw. Finally the chaff was winnowed away by a shovel-shaped fan, best used on a windy day. Olives were freely grown throughout Greece. In Attica they were sufficiently productive to allow some export of oil. The trees took sixteen years or more to mature, before a good harvest could be expected; so that a well-grown tree was particularly precious. The picking of the berries took place in late autumn. Pickers were often hired from the town, like hop-pickers to-day; for it was a long and tedious process. When picked, the berries were placed in a circular trough and crushed by the pressure of a circular stone wheel, after which the oil could be squeezed out by the application of a wooden lever. Vines were also grown both on the plains and on the terraced hill-side. As a rule they were trained on stakes or, more rarely, up trees. At the vintage, in September, the gathered grapes were placed in a wine-press which consisted of a sloping floor surrounded by a low wall. Here they were trodden under foot till the juice ran out and, trickling down the floor, was conveyed out by a channel. It was then stored in large jars and allowed to ferment into wine. Apart from agriculturalists proper, shepherds grazed their flocks of sheep and goats on the uplands; and charcoal-burners plied their trade at Acharnae, near the woods at the north end of the plain.

There was always, indeed, a certain antagonism between town and country. The city-dwellers regarded the farmers as country bumpkins, slow witted, conservative, and full of old-fashioned superstitions. The country-folk thought the city-dwellers fast

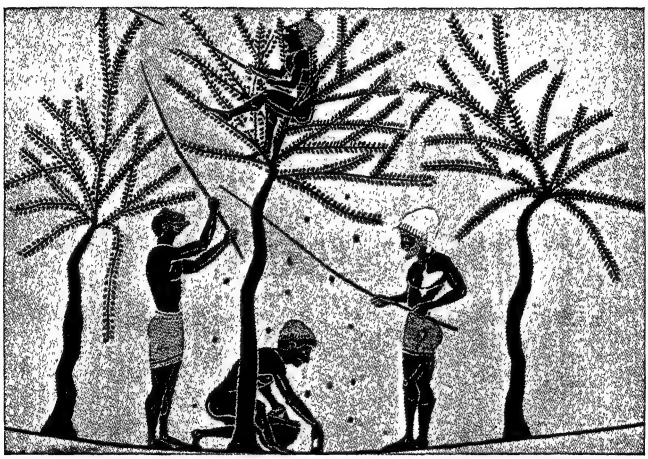


FIG. 25. PICKING OLIVES

and frivolous. In one of Aristophanes' plays a one-time farmer describes how he had married a fine lady of the town:

Rank was I with wool and grease,
Fig-trays and foul-smelling lees,
She of perfumes, frankincense,
Saffron, kisses and expense . . .
She would pet our son, and said,
'When you drive your coach, my lad,
Clad in purple, like a lord.'
I would answer, 'Mark my word,
When you drive your goat-herd rather,
Clad in homespun like your father.'

There was a further conflict of interest, of course, between

seller and buyer. In another play we have a ludicrous burlesque of a market scene. A farmer—not of Attica, but a native of the adjacent town of Megara—is so hard hit by the war that he dresses up his two daughters as pigs and brings them to Athens. To convince the doubting purchaser he pinches them till they cry, 'Wee! Wee!' '*They're a fine pair of beasts*,' says the other at last, '*What will you take for them?*' '*A bundle of garlic for the one and half a peck of salt for the other.*' So the sale is made and, as usual, the farmer gets the worst of the deal. Transactions were not usually so speedy, however; for hard bargaining was the rule. Even in hiring a porter to carry a pack it was usual to higgle about the price to be paid. In another comedy the hero, who is setting forth upon a journey to the Underworld, encounters a corpse being carried out upon a bier. A bright idea strikes him. '*Carry my traps to Hades?*' he asks. The corpse sits up, looks at the traps, and says, '*Two drachmas for the job.*' '*Too much*,' replies the hero, '*Let's split the difference.*' '*Two drachmas or nothing.*' '*Take one and a half*', says the other. '*Strike me* alive, *if I will*,' says the corpse (for clearly he could not wish himself *dead!*), and relapses on to his bier.

To give a proper idea of such business transactions a word should be said about money. Originally, as at Sparta, the Greeks had been content to use spits or lumps of metal; but they were a quick-witted race and early began to stamp these metal pieces with some symbol of guaranteed weight; and so was evolved the art of minting proper. Besides Athens, several states (such as Corinth) issued a currency of their own, each with its separate design; but the Athenian currency was most widely used throughout the Aegean basin. It was not until the Macedonian kings introduced them towards the end of the fourth century that *gold* coins were actually produced in Greece itself; but gold pieces called *Darics*, minted by the Persians, passed freely in Athens and elsewhere. The native coins of Athens were all of silver, procured from the mines at Laurium. They

were stamped on one side with Athena's head and on the other with an owl, the goddess's favourite bird. Attic coins were frequently known as 'owls'. 'Attic owls roosting in his rafters',

FIG. 26. GREEK COINS (actual size)

Two-drachma pieces: (1) of Messana (*obverse*, a mule-car; *reverse*, a hare), (2) of Himera (*obv.* a cock; *rev.* a crab). Four-drachma pieces: (3) of Catana (*obv.* head of Silenus; *rev.* Zeus and eagle), (4) of Athens (*obv.* head of Athena; *rev.* an owl), (5) of Agrigentum (*obv.* two eagles on body of hare; *rev.* charioteer).

said some one who wished to hint that a Spartan general had been taking bribes. The standard coin was the *drachma*, roughly equivalent to our shilling. Two-drachma, four-drachma, and even sometimes ten-drachma pieces were also minted. The smaller coins, too, were of silver. They were called

'obols' and six obols went to a drachma. There were three-obol and two-obol pieces, rounder and plumper than a threepenny bit. Country-folk used to carry such small change pouched between cheek and gums; so that it became the fashion, at a dead man's funeral, to place an obol *in his mouth* to serve as fare-money for the mythical ferryman Charon, who was supposed to convey the soul across the river Styx to the Underworld. The equivalent value of ancient currencies as compared with our own is difficult to fix; for the value of metal was then much greater owing to its scarcity. Perhaps the best basis of comparison is to give the normal pay of various types of labour, though we must remember that an Athenian workman lived mainly on a vegetarian diet and was satisfied with very much fewer comforts than a British working-man. Menial labour was paid three obols, or half a drachma, a day—presumably a bare subsistence; jurors were paid at the same rate. An ordinary workman got one drachma a day. A highly skilled artisan as much as two and a half drachmae a day. The purchase of a slave cost anything from £4 to £40. A schoolmaster or music-teacher earned about £70 per annum. For such larger sums there were, of course, no equivalent coins, but the Athenians found it useful to employ special terms for convenience in reckoning. Thus 100 *drachmae* was called a *mina* or '*mna*' (£4); and sixty *minae* was called a talent (roughly £240). To get any idea of their purchasing power it would be necessary to multiply the English sums five or six times over, possibly more. A person who owned a capital of 50 talents was considered very rich. Pasion, the well-known banker, must have made over £1,000 a year; interest on loans was charged at the rate of one drachma on every mina monthly, i.e. 12 per cent. per annum. Besides loaning money on usury, much business was done in exchanging foreign coins for the native currency. The money-changers' tables were, as we have said, a prominent feature of the market-place. There, too the huckster's trade was of course a flourishing one; but as the

business of a greengrocer and a fishmonger is much the same in all ages we need not pause to consider their calling. More important were the merchants who handled the overseas trade. A large number of these lived down at the Piraeus, which was itself a considerable city; and many of them were not Athenians born but resident foreigners or Metics. The Greeks, though they loved their homes, loved seeing the world also. It is true that they despised the 'barbarians', as they called all foreigners —the very word 'bar-bar-oi' being a scornful allusion to the incomprehensible gibberish that other nations talked. Even in their outlying settlements—at Marseilles, for instance, or on the coast of North Africa—where they lived cheek by jowl with less civilized folk, they were slow to intermarry with the native population or to adopt its lower standards of life; so proud were they of their national superiority.

Nevertheless they enjoyed the experience of going out among foreign peoples and the opportunity of telling fine tales when they came home again. Herodotus, the famous historian,[1] travelled far afield, visiting the coast-lands of the Black Sea, Egypt, and probably Mesopotamia. Far away south of Egypt a statue has been found on which Greek adventurers had scratched their names, like some ill-mannered modern tourist. As for the merchants, they sailed into every corner of the Mediterranean, and even penetrated beyond the Pillars of Hercules, as they called the Gibraltar Straits, to trade with the Spanish tribes and perhaps with the inhabitants of these islands. It would be tedious to give a detailed account of their markets; how they fetched corn from the Black Sea and perfumes and spices from the Levant, or how they carried pottery to the Crimea and to South Italy and Sicily. Their enterprise not merely formed the basis of Athens' prosperity; but long after, when Greece became a portion of the Roman Empire, it was her mariners who remained the principal carriers of Mediterranean trade.

[1] Historian and history are derived from the Greek word *historia* (inquiry).

It must not be imagined, however, that the ancients were audacious navigators. They had no compass to assist them; and the fear of storms always kept them in harbour during winter months. The rising of the Pleiads in spring was the signal to set sail. Observation of the stars was their only guide at night; and, if possible, the Greek sailor preferred not to be caught at the mercy of the darkness. Avoiding open-sea voyages, he was accustomed to hug the coast-line or thread his way across from island to island, putting into harbour or hauling his ship ashore to bivouac for the night. Except for the accident of a sudden squall or the occasional necessity of a hard pull with the oar when an adverse wind set in, it was a peaceful and pleasant life—to sit astern at the tiller, and, while the light breeze puffed the main-sail, watch the smooth blue water ruffle under the vessel's wake and the grey shapes of the islands drift lazily by under the blazing summer sunshine. So, though the Greek sailor never pretended that he was not afraid of the sea, he thoroughly enjoyed his life. '*Give me a mattress on the poop*,' sang a Greek Masefield, '*and an awning overhead with the patter of the spray on it; a pot on the fire with a turmoil of bursting bubbles and a boy turning the meat, and a ship's plank for my table, and a game of pitch and toss, and the boatswain's whistle. That's the life I love and it fell to my lot but yesterday.*'

There was only one most uncomfortable danger—pirates. In another poem we find a soothsayer, when asked by a timid skipper whether his ship would make port safely, thus cautiously replying:

Let the ship be bran-new and the tackle be taut!
Wait till summer for sailing! and then, sir, in short,
If correctly you steer and no bold buccaneer
You encounter, you'll come safe to port.

Luckily the Athenian navy did much to suppress the nuisance. As for the risks of shipwreck, it was always possible to insure against those with the bankers at Athens. Profits on a cargo

were tolerably secure under normal conditions of trade; and sometimes a big haul might be made, as when the first Greek ship put in at the virgin-port of Tartessus, in western Spain,

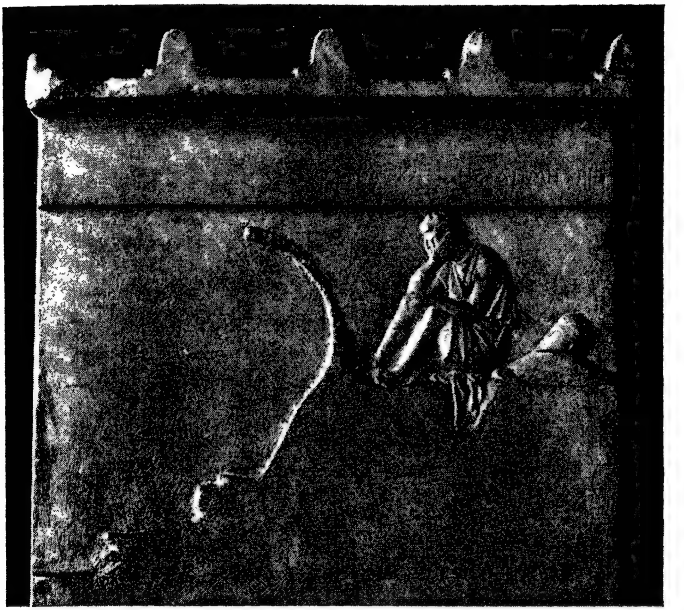


FIG. 27. TOMBSTONE OF ATHENIAN SAILOR

He sits on the prow of his ship, his shield and helmet beside him.

and made a profit, so Herodotus assures us, of £15,000 on the voyage—a sum which was worth in those days perhaps ten times that amount.

Travel on land was, on the whole, less convenient and less comfortable than by sea. The roads were poor; for the Greeks did not, like the Romans, take steps to make a firm metalled surface. Rains would furrow deep ruts; in the plains the dust would lie inches deep; on the hills stones and rocks would make

the going very jolty. So, though carts and chariots were used, they could seldom proceed at more than a walking pace; and it was more common to travel on foot or on a mule or pack-horse. Litters carried by slaves were not fashionable till much later times, and the use of them was considered more suitable to the effeminate oriental. Commercial purposes apart, the Greeks were fond of paying visits to neighbouring cities, when warfare did not forbid it. But their favourite pilgrimages were to the great religious and athletic festivals, such as were held at Olympia or Corinth. At such centres special quarters were provided for the accommodation of visitors; but elsewhere the traveller would have to put up at an inn. As in all ages, the discomfort of inns was the butt of much ridicule. Comic poets speak of the extortionate charges of inn-keepers; and there were other drawbacks. '*Tell me*,' says a would-be traveller in one of Aristophanes' plays,

> *Tell me the taverns and the pastry-cooks,*
> *Routes, and fresh-water springs and wayside nooks,*
> *And lodging-houses where the bed-room rugs*
> *Contain—let's say—a minimum of bugs.*

If we pass to what nowadays are called 'the professions', it cannot be said that they were much in evidence at Athens. Political posts, as we have seen, were filled by amateurs. There were no barristers, if we except the men who wrote speeches for parties at law. There was not even a priestly caste as among the Israelites. Priests were usually elected for a term of years to superintend some special ritual or act as caretaker to a temple; but sometimes the privilege was confined to a particular family. With the performance of his ceremonial duties a priest's responsibility ended; he had no mission to persuade other folk to live better lives. Often he was chosen for his good looks and fine figure. Besides priests, there were soothsayers and astrologers. Nicias, the general, kept one in his private service. There were

professional reciters, corresponding to the minstrels of Homer's day; and there were, of course, schoolmasters—a little-respected class. Greek doctors were famous throughout the world, though it is probable that in the first instance much of their lore was derived from Egypt. Herodotus tells of one called Democedes who was a native of south Italy, but wandered from one place to another till he reached the court of the Persian king, whom he cured of a sprained ankle and the queen of an abscess. There was a good deal of superstition wrapped up with the practice of medicine. In a celebrated shrine of Asclepius, the God of Healing, patients were laid out in a corridor in expectation of the visit of the god, who was believed to appear at night in a snake's form and lick the diseased portion of their bodies. Many cures seem to have been effected; and tablets may still be seen which grateful patients set up; sometimes an ear or an eye, or whatever had caused the trouble, was represented in carving.

On the other hand, the professional doctors not merely understood the use of herbs, drugs, and ointments, but studied symptoms with some intelligence. One Hippocrates, who lived towards the end of the fifth century B.C., has some claim to be called the father of medicine on the score of his diagnoses of quinsy, epilepsy, tapeworm, and other diseases. Nevertheless, methods were crude, and satirists did not spare the doctors.

Dr. Nostrum a visit did pay
To the statue of Zeus. 'But', you'll say,
'Zeus is God, let alone
That his statue is stone.'
No matter—the funeral's to-day!

Anatomy could be little studied in a land where cremation of the dead was the invariable rule; and it was not till after Alexander's conquest of the East, when many Greeks settled in Egypt, that dissection of corpses was extensively practised. Nevertheless, operations were performed, and even the wandering Democedes

possessed implements. Without anaesthetics surgery must have been a grim business; and of it, too, the wits were critical:

The patient dead, the surgeon wiped his knife.
'Poor chap,' he said, 'he'd have been maimed for life.'

We next pass on to the handicrafts[1]—the true pride and glory of Athens. And first, we must disabuse our minds of any modern conceptions of industrial relations. There were not at Athens a class of employers and a class of employed. A free-born worker was too jealous of his independence to accept the position which Socialists of to-day would call 'wage-slavery'. He would hire out his services when and where he chose—to the state it might be or to some private contractor—but remained his own master. In the workshop, it is true, apprentices and assistants would gather round a master-craftsman to learn and practise the trade till they were fit to set up on their own. Men of the same craft, too, joined in associations or guilds, cherishing the secrets of its technique, holding common religious rites, and dwelling, as a rule, in some separate quarter of the town. The metal-workers, for instance, would live near the temple of Hephaestus, god of smiths. The potters' quarters, known as the Cerameicus, can still be identified. No industry at Athens was more flourishing, and a word must be said on the subject.

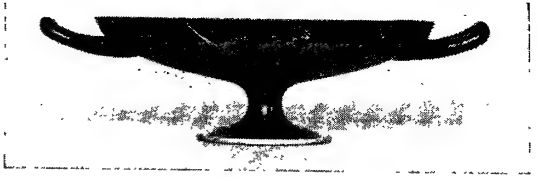
Near the city, as luck so fell, there were extensive beds of fine potter's clay. Modelling was done on a wheel, and it is impossible to exaggerate the beauty of the vessels produced. They were of all shapes and sizes, and for the most part intended for everyday use, such as drinking-cups, mixing-bowls, oil-jars, and so forth. But they were of exquisite design; and there are

[1] A craft or art was called *technē*, whence our own words 'technical' and 'technique'.

TYPICAL VASES (*see opposite*)

(1) Panathenaic amphora for holding oil, (2) Kylix or drinking-cup, (3) Krater, for mixing wine with water.

1



2

3

FIG. 28. TYPICAL VASES

no more priceless treasures in our modern museums than the Attic, Corinthian, or other Greek vases. When the potter had finished with the vase, it was handed to the painter to adorn. The actual surface of the clay was a pale red or ochre, and on this the painter picked out his design in a rich black lustre. In early days it had been the custom to paint the patterns and even the human figures in black silhouette; but presently it had been perceived that the latter at any rate would look far more lifelike if the black were used for the background and the figures left in the flesh-coloured tint of the natural clay-surface. All manner of scenes were depicted; some drawn from mythology, some from every-day life. But such was the imaginative genius of the artists that no two were ever alike. There was no idea of cheap mass-production at Athens. Every vase was a work of art in itself. Some of the artists appended their signatures. But, though their names are now famous, they were of little account in those days. The reward of the humble craftsman was simply the artist's satisfaction in work superbly done.

Next, the builders. In these early days religious architecture took precedence of all other forms. True, under Pericles a great Entrance Gate was built on the Acropolis; but even this was merely a further adornment of the sacred precinct; and the principal achievements of the age were the temples which were erected there.

The normal plan of a Greek temple was severely simple—a plain rectangular shrine, the roof of which projected several feet outwards and was carried on all four sides[1] by a continuous row

[1] Sometimes only on two, and with columns therefore only at the two ends.

DORIC ARCHITECTURE (*see opposite*)

A corner of the Parthenon. Note the fluted columns without a base: the bowl-shaped 'capital' supporting the superstructure or 'entablature': the series of 'triglyphs' or grooved slabs alternating with square bas-reliefs called 'Metopes', now much damaged: above these, the spring of the gable or 'pediment', originally containing a group of statues, of which only fragments are still *in situ*.

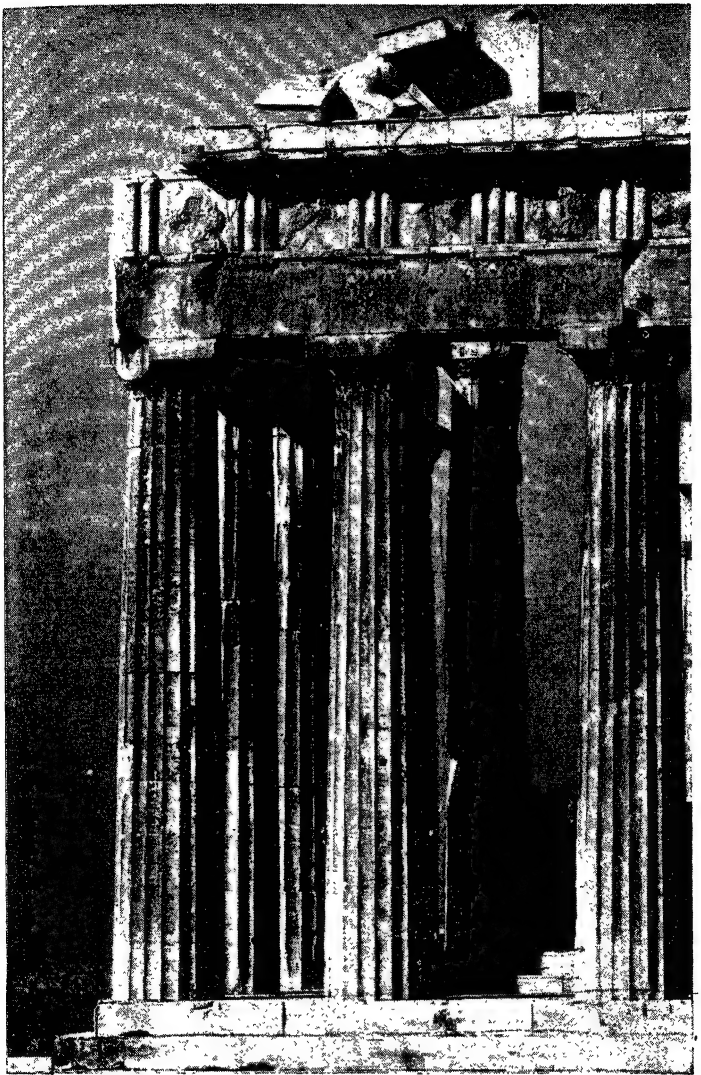


FIG. 29. DORIC ARCHITECTURE

of columns. The columns were 'fluted' with grooves which, catching the light, give a pleasing sense of variety; and on the top of each, supporting the masonry which held the roof, was a 'capital' of various design. The three different types of capital mark the three different styles of architecture. In the Doric style—plain, massive, and dignified—the capital was no more than a shallow basin-shaped cushion. In the more delicate Ionic style, it curled out on either side in 'volutes', not unlike a pair of ram's horns. In the Corinthian—a later style, very rich and ornate—the capital was carved to represent a bunch of acanthus leaves. The Doric style was most favoured by Athenian architects of the fifth century; and in this style was built the great temple of the goddess Athene which stood on the Acropolis and which was known as the Parthenon. The Parthenon is still standing; and even in its present state of decay it is a building of extraordinary grandeur—a sight which no one who has once seen it can ever forget. To attempt to describe its beauty in words is impossible; but one or two things may be noted which contributed thereto.

In the first place, the Athenian builders were fortunate in possessing—no farther off than the slopes of Mount Pentelicus at the head of the Attic plain—quarries of exquisite creamy-white marble. The masonry and pillars of the Parthenon, which were made of this material, have long since weathered to a beautiful golden tinge; but in the days when they were first set up their sparkling purity, standing clear-cut against the deep blue sky, must have been infinitely more impressive. Painted patterns, too, adorned the surfaces in a manner which the ancients found pleasing, though the modern eye may prefer the marble unstained.

In the second place, though massive and simple in design, the Parthenon was of rare workmanship. The apparently straight lines of which it is composed are all found on closer inspection to display a subtle curve, intended to avoid tiring the eye with

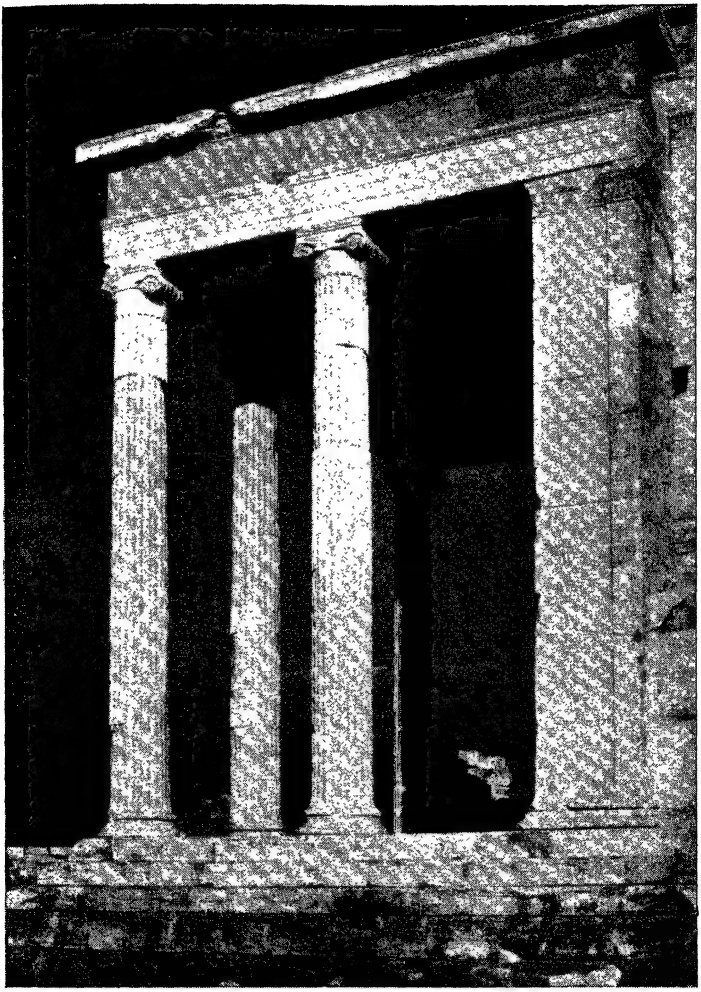


FIG. 30. IONIC ARCHITECTURE

The north-west porch of the Erechtheum. Note the slender grooved columns on a base: the capital with double 'volutes' much damaged: the light 'entablature', along which once ran a frieze of figures set against a background of black marble.

flat monotony and to correct the optical effect of sagging which a straight line is apt to give. No mortar was used; and the drums of which the columns are composed are fitted so tightly together that even a needle can scarcely be thrust into the crack. The fluting of the columns, too, and every other detail have been chiselled with a delicate precision which no modern mechanical methods could rival.

Lastly, the Parthenon was adorned with sculptured figures, themselves masterpieces of artistry. In either gable-end were set large groups of statues representing gods and goddesses. At intervals along the masonry which supported the roof were other smaller groups;[1] and beneath the colonnade, high on the outer wall of the shrine itself, ran a continuous frieze of figures in bas-relief. Many of these sculptures were removed from the ruins of the temple during the early part of the last century; and they may now be seen in the British Museum. The designer and general controller of these works was a sculptor called Pheidias; but how far he actually carved them with his own hand is uncertain. We can distinguish among them the hands of many assistants; for, like the potters and other artisans, the sculptors, too, seem to have worked in the studio of a master-craftsman, learning and imitating his methods. It was one of the chief reasons for the Greeks' artistic excellence that each individual artist did not attempt to strike out a wholly new line of his own, but was content to follow in a set tradition, reproducing the same type of statue as his master, but adding here and there some small improvement of his own. In this way a steady progress was maintained towards complete mastery of technique.

The decoration of buildings was only one department of the sculptor's art. Individual statues of gods or human beings were also set up in sacred precincts or in public squares. Some were

[1] These smaller groups are known as 'metopes', the gable-ends as 'pediments'.

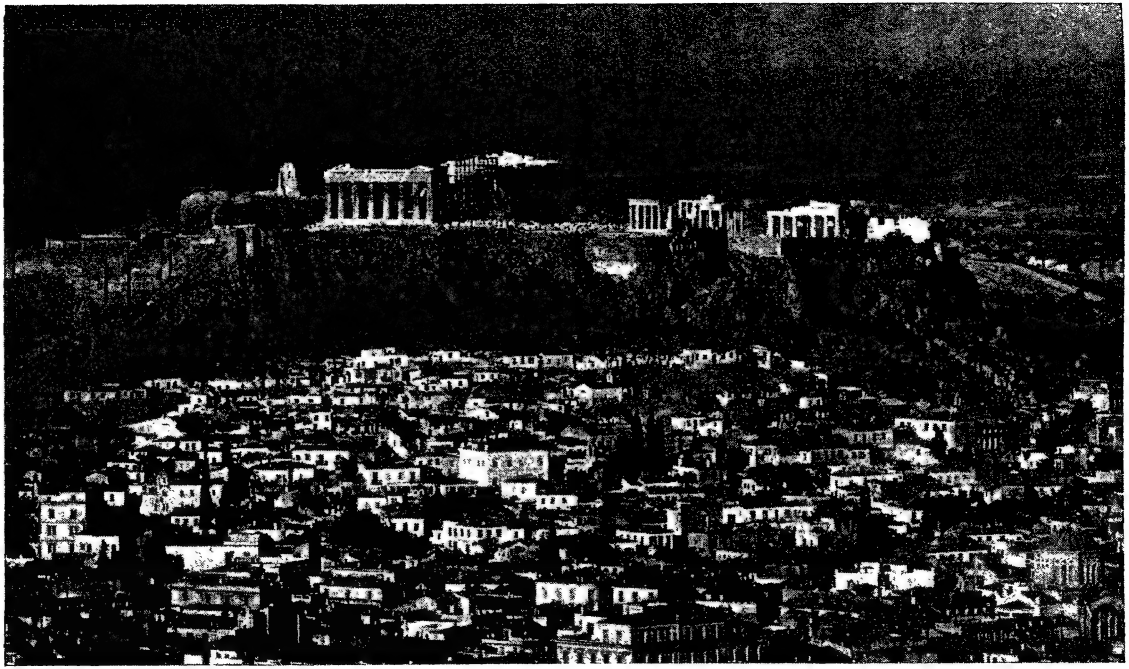


FIG. 32. ACROPOLIS FROM NORTH-EAST

public is needed: the Athenian people were extremely proud of the Parthenon, and Pericles was able to say of them, with unquestionable truth, that they were 'lovers of beauty'.

If by some magic we could make our way into the streets of ancient Athens, we should be chiefly struck, I fancy, by the extraordinary combination of beauty and of squalor side by side. We should observe with disgust how garbage and filth of every sort was allowed to litter the narrow roadways. Our noses would inform us of the complete absence of any drainage system. The exterior of the houses would strike us as mean; for walls of crumbling mud are not impressive. We should note the grimy limbs and faces of little children playing naked in the dust; and we should probably not be impressed by the cleanliness of the average citizen's clothes. Many of the folk would seem singularly unlike the handsome, fine-limbed creatures which our study of modern museum-cases might have led us to expect. There would even be repulsive types of humanity—beggars, cripples, men with limbs disfigured in war or with diseases hideously untended.

And then the contrast. Emerging above the low level of the surrounding houses are the stately columns and carved or painted mouldings of many a public hall or temple. Round the market-place rise the long and spacious porticoes, their walls gay with frescoed scenes. Lining the open spaces would be statues innumerable, of gods and goddesses, athletes and national heroes, of exquisite craftsmanship and beauty of design. In the market-square or through the doors of private houses we should catch glimpses of pots and jars embellished with all the richness of the craftsman-painter's fancy. Outside the city gates and lining the roadway are tombs, some bearing marble figures or scenes carved in bas-relief; others, commemorating the dead of a poorer class, with no more than a simple jar, yet as exquisite in shape as it is simple. Finally, towering above the roofs and buildings of the town itself, stands the majestic rock of the

Acropolis, and on it, serene and dazzling in the pure, smokeless air, the marble columns and gabled roofs of Portico and Temples, a miracle of loveliness, perfect alike in finish and proportion, rich with coloured patterns of crimson and blue and purple, and here and there a gilded ornament which catches the sunlight and flashes its rays far out across the plain to the surrounding mountains or over the dancing waves of the sea. Athenian mariners, voyaging homewards from distant parts and rounding the jutting rocks of the last promontory, must have felt their hearts leap as they recognized this token that they were once again nearing their incomparable town.

IX

RECREATION

I. ATHLETICS[1]

An existence which was all work and no play had no attraction for the Greek. He would have intensely disliked the drudgery of an office-stool and the mechanical monotony of modern industrial life. So, even if cessation from work meant less money in his pocket, he was jealous of his pastimes; and he had many. For the elderly and less active there were draughts, dicing, and cock-fighting. The rich kept horses and raced them, chiefly in harness. The boys had a variety of games. There was a sort of Blind Man's Buff, which went by the name of the 'Bronze Fly'. Another resembled Prisoners' Base, being played between two teams, one of pursuers, one of pursued. In literature, too, there are allusions to hoops. Toy carts are to be seen on children's tombstones; and in one passage of Aristophanes we hear of mud-houses and frogs carved out of pomegranate rind. Ball games were common; one represented on a bas-relief seems to have closely resembled hockey. Others were concerned with

[1] Athletics is derived from the Greek word *athlon* (='a prize given in a contest' or 'the contest' itself).

ball-throwing in various forms. The ball, too, was commonly used in dancing; and dancing was a very favourite form of exercise, much more akin to musical drill than to anything else. Though older men danced (the poet Sophocles was an adept), the chief value of such drill was for the young, and it was controlled by an instructor or trainer. The importance of learning rhythmical movement was much emphasized by Greek authors who studied educational methods. They believed that the development of character was greatly influenced by the type of tunes which were employed. Plato, in sketching the institutions of an ideal city-state, lays great stress on this; and it is clear that modern rag-time and jazz would have been completely banned.

Perhaps the most important purpose of musical drill, however, was that it inculcated the spirit of team-work and a sense of disciplined harmony with others, so essential to the good citizenship of a Greek community. It was for this reason that dancing was so much practised at Sparta.

The Competitive Spirit, on the other hand, was by no means neglected; and various forms of athletic sport gave ample opportunity for individual prowess. At Athens there were several small training-grounds for boys, called 'Palaestrae', or wrestling-schools. Outside the city, too, there were two much larger Gymnasiums—a word which simply implied a place where one might exercise 'naked'. These corresponded to our own extensive playing-fields, and were open to both men and boys. They would be surrounded by avenues of trees and colonnades containing dressing-rooms and bath-houses. On entering, the first thing was to strip and rub the body liberally with oil. Provision was made for those who merely wanted to keep fit. There would be punch-balls, for instance, consisting of a pig-skin filled with sand. Those who desired a contest of skill had a wide choice. Running was, of course, a favourite exercise. The course was usually of soft sand; a test of endurance being the primary object, not a breaking of records. There were

3968

FIG. 33. WARRIORS PLAYING DRAUGHTS

II. DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENTS

Festal celebrations, whether accompanied by athletic contests or otherwise, were a very common feature of Athenian life. For whole days together, many times in the year, the entire city would keep holiday (and in justice to them it is only fair to remember that there were no Sundays). There were some celebrations to which women only were admitted; others in which the whole citizen-body took part. The most splendid of all was the Panathenaea, a festival held in honour of the patron-goddess Athene. Its principal event was a procession to the Acropolis, the scene of which is depicted on the great Parthenon frieze now in the British Museum. At the head of the procession went a monster ship on wheels carrying a sacred robe woven for the image of the goddess and destined to be laid, as an annual offering, upon her knees. After the ship came girls carrying baskets of scent and wine-jars, then bulls for the sacrifice, then a deputation of resident foreigners in scarlet cloaks, boys bearing pitchers, old men with olive-branches, finally a group of chariots, and, bringing up the rear, a cavalcade of youths mounted on mettlesome steeds. It is clear that the Athenian people well understood the art of organizing a spectacle of this sort.

More interesting to ourselves, however, was the Festival of Dionysus the Vine-god, at which dramatic competitions were held; and of this some fuller description must be given. The great Dionysia, as this festival was called, was not the only dramatic festival at Athens. It was held in March, and there was another which took place somewhat earlier in the year, while similar performances on a more modest scale were popular in the Attic countryside. The origin of the drama may, indeed, be traced to some simple form of rustic entertainment at which a chorus of men danced in a ring, reciting or chanting the story of some mythological episode. As time went on, a man, dressed up in appropriate robes and mounted on a table, had been

FIG. 37. BOY VICTOR CROWNING HIMSELF

introduced to impersonate this or that character in the story and to hold a crude dialogue with the leader of the chorus. He was called the 'Hypocrites'[1] or 'Answerer'; and so the history of drama proper began.

To enable him to impersonate more than one character, moreover, arrangements were made for this 'Answerer' or actor to retire into a tent behind his stage or table, and reappear in a new guise. By ancient custom both he and the chorus wore masks; and a swift transformation therefore presented no great difficulty. All the features of this primitive drama were present in the fully developed tragedy of Periclean Athens. The auditorium of the theatre, which was scooped out of the southern slope of the Acropolis, was arranged round a circular dancing-ring or 'orchestra', in which a chorus performed its evolutions. Beyond it rose a shallow stage and behind the stage a building which corresponded to the actor's tent and served as a Green Room. On it was hung or painted rude scenery, representing as a rule a palace-front—or sometimes maybe a temple—with doors opening on the stage. In the course of a play there was scarcely ever a change of scene, all the action being supposed to take place in one locality. Sometimes, however, a painted screen at either end of the palace was swung round and, by presenting a fresh picture to the audience, suggested that a new setting had been given to the stage. There were other rude devices of a mechanical sort—a lift by which gods and goddesses could be lowered as though from the sky, and, more curious still, a platform which could be pushed forward on rollers from the interior of the palace and so bring in view a tableau of some murdered person or persons; for it was a rule that no violent death might be enacted on the stage.

As this queer device has already warned the reader, the Greeks did not aim in their dramatic productions at a *realistic* representation of life; that is, they did not wish the onlooker to feel

[1] Hence our word 'hypocrite' (a man who 'plays a part').

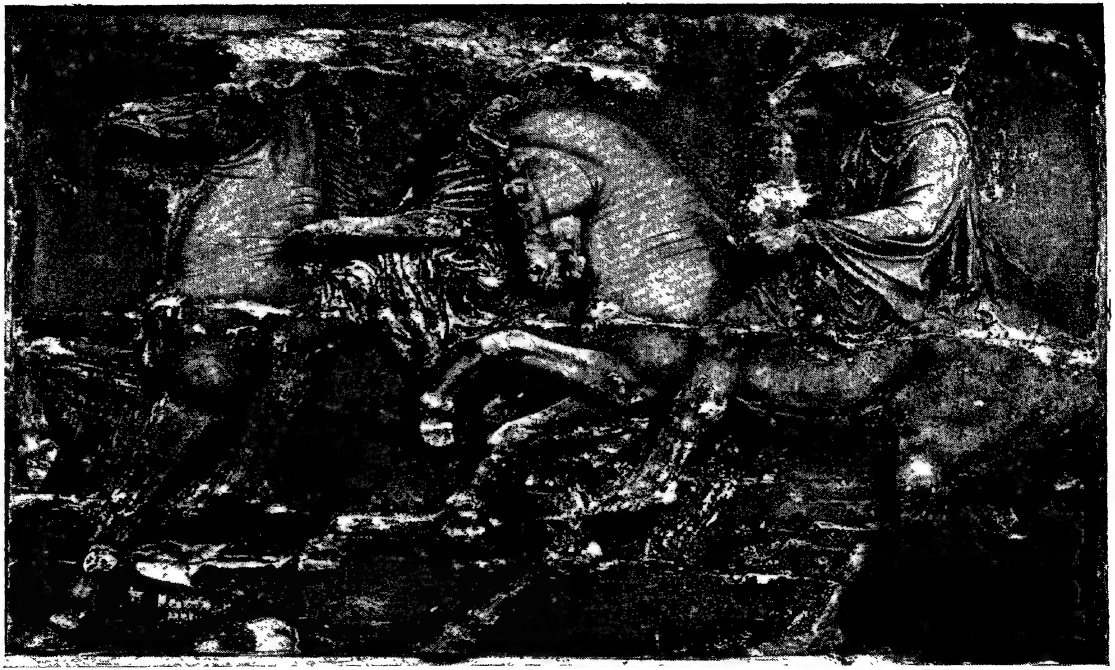


FIG. 38. RIDERS IN PANATHENAIC PROCESSION (FROM PARTHENON FRIEZE)

that a *real* murder, or whatever it might be, was being enacted before his eyes; and in nothing was this more evident than in the get-up of the actors themselves. Two, or sometimes three, actors were the outside limit allowed to a playwright; so that he naturally availed himself of the opportunity of using them for a variety of characters by a quick change behind the scenes. To facilitate this a mask was still worn; and its lofty head-dress gave an imposing addition to the actor's stature. To increase this yet further, he wore on his feet a pair of club-soled boots several inches in height, but partially covered by his sweeping robes. With such encumbrances rapid movement was clearly impossible; and we must not expect to find in the Attic theatre anything resembling our own notions of a play.

If we are to suggest a modern parallel, the evolutions of the chorus may perhaps be likened to some stately movement of a Russian ballet. The actor's part, on the other hand, must have been spoken in a musical intonation with slow rhythmical gestures of the body and arms. On the elocution of the words the main effect of the play must certainly have depended, and the actor's art needed highly professional training. The play itself consisted of a series of long set speeches, varied by occasional interchange of rapid dialogue and, of course, by interludes of chorus songs. It was the poetry and passion of the words, accompanied by appropriate and carefully calculated movement, that constituted the appeal of Greek tragedy. For in an open-air theatre, with no opportunity for limelight or other scenic effects, and with actors whose masks debarred all use of facial expression, it is clear that most of the other elements which go to make a modern drama were ruled out. In this it may be that the Greeks' instinct was right. For, when we come to think of it,

THEATRE AT EPIDAURUS (*see opposite*)

In the foreground are the remains of the stage-buildings; beyond which lies the circular *orchestra* or dancing-ring with central altar, surrounded on three sides by the stone seats of the auditorium.

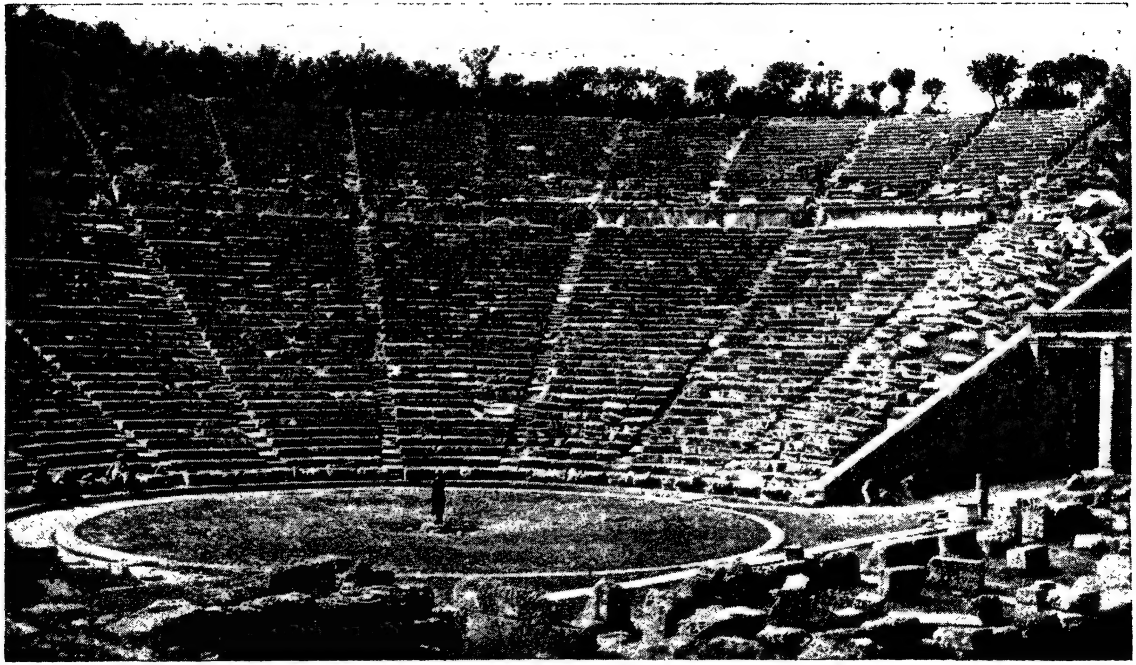


FIG. 39. THEATRE AT EPIDAURUS

the emotions are the real pith of a tragedy, and emotions are best stirred by words.[1] In a murder-scene, for instance, the real essence of the horror lies not in the blow of the knife, and the sight of the flowing blood, but in the passions of hatred and anger and the agony of desperate fear. Such things were never better depicted than by the great authors of the Attic stage. They wrote in a tone of high solemnity, befitting the great themes of which they told. It must never be forgotten that their plays were enacted at a religious festival. Their themes were drawn from mythological legends which to them were much what the Bible is to us. Even to-day, when the plays are revived and acted before a modern audience, it may be noticed that the lines are almost invariably spoken with an intonation which we usually associate with the interior of a church.

So it was for what we should call a distinctly 'high-brow' entertainment that the Athenian people gathered at the Great Dionysia; and though it was a cheerful enough occasion, and all would be in holiday mood, the demands on their attention were considerable. Proceedings began early and lasted till well past noon; and this not on one but on three successive days. For three poets or playwrights had been previously selected for the competition and on each of the three days one of them would produce not a single tragedy, but three separate tragedies, more or less loosely connected in plot. At the end of these was usually appended a fourth play (called a Satyric drama) in a somewhat lighter vein. Finally, each day's programme closed with a comedy proper.

Besides writing the plays the poet would take a hand in their production. The state provided the actors; and the cost of the training of chorus and providing clothes and so forth was assigned to some rich citizen. If public-spirited, he would take, as we have said, a considerable pride in his duties. Embroidered

[1] As every one knows, the best ghost-stories are those in which the mystery is suggested, but never actually described or given bodily form.

FIG. 40. TRAGIC ACTOR

Note the mask topped by a head-dress to increase the actor's height, and the club-soled boots (*kothurnoi*) serving the same purpose.

dresses, soldiers equipped in gleaming armour, suites of attendants bearing handsome painted vases, such things would add a pleasant touch of pageantry; and it would therefore be a spectacle of some magnificence to which the spectators might look forward.

From early dawn the great semicircle of seats would begin to fill up. The fee charged for admission was trifling; and most of the city-residents, at any rate, would be there. Visitors often came from a distance. The seats consisted of steps either carved from the rock or constructed of wood or stone; and the use of cushions was advisable. The space allowed per man, if we may judge by marks still visible on the slabs, was extremely narrow; the audience must have been packed like sardines. In the front row, next the dancing-ring, were carved marble chairs for priests and other dignitaries. Beyond the stage buildings (there was, of course, no curtain) the eye might travel across some four miles of plain to the coast and the wide horizon of the sea.

It would be past noon before the performance was over. Then the audience would disperse, to muster again on the two following days for a hearing of the other competitors. At the close of the festival the verdict was given by judges specially chosen from the whole citizen body; and it is a tribute to their perspicacity that they very consistently assigned the prize to the two great tragedians Aeschylus and Sophocles. Euripides, their younger rival, was more advanced in his views and correspondingly less popular. What seems certain, moreover, is that the judges' verdict must have reflected the public taste. The Athenians were a lively, obstreperous audience and expressed their approval or disapproval vigorously. We even hear of one actor who was pelted off the stage. They were critical, too, of the least error of speech. One unfortunate actor who was guilty of a mispronunciation no more serious than if 'when' were spoken as 'wen', was a familiar butt for ridicule. There is no more telling indication of the high level of the Athenians' taste than their

ability to recognize quotations. For Aristophanes is constantly poking fun at Euripides by introducing tags drawn from his plays; and there can be no doubt whatever that he carried the audience with him. It is improbable that a keener or more appreciative set of theatre-goers ever existed in the history of the world.

NOTE.—In literature and art many of our modern terms are derived from the Greek. 'Drama' (from *drao* = I do) is 'a thing done or acted'. 'Tragedy' and 'comedy' are Greek words: so is 'orchestra', though it has changed its meaning. 'Poetry' comes from *poieo*, to make or invent. 'Lyric' from *lyra*, a harp to which songs were sung. Metre comes from *mĕtron* = a measure; and so on.

X

RELIGION

WE have already said something in an earlier chapter concerning the gods and goddesses of the Greeks; and this is not the place for any full description of their several characteristics and attributes. Suffice it to say that round their personalities were woven innumerable tales of wonderful beauty and rare imagination. The Greeks were great story-tellers; and throughout succeeding ages the art and literature of the world have been continually inspired by their creative genius. Roman poets drew almost entirely for their subjects on the old Greek legends. Our own Elizabethan writers are constantly alluding to the same old tales. Painters, too, have depicted them; and all know Botticelli's picture of the Birth of the Love Goddess from the Sea.

But, however imaginative, the tales which the Greeks told of their gods were not very edifying. In Homer gods and goddesses alike are represented as cheating and lying in a manner to which the human characters of the poem would

seldom stoop. Zeus himself, the King of the Immortals, was perpetually engaged in discreditable love-affairs with mortal women. Half the heroes of legend were the offspring of such illicit amours; and when we further consider the character of Bacchus the Wine-god or Zeus's jealous consort Hera, we are forced to the conclusion that the influence of such a creed can scarcely have been for good. In other words, the example set by the Immortals was not such as to encourage men or women to lead better lives. The most that can be said is that folk refrained from offending the gods for fear of the consequences. It was not until philosophers like Socrates began to call in question the truth of the old legends and to substitute the idea of one supreme deity for the belief in many gods that any higher conception of divine nature became possible.

For ordinary folk, therefore, the main motive of religion was to enlist the aid or placate the anger of the Unseen Powers. The Greeks, as St. Paul observed at a much later date, were extremely superstitious. They believed profoundly in the significance of dreams. They were much addicted to the use of charms; and on his death-bed his attendants are said to have hung an amulet round the neck of the great Pericles himself. If any misfortune befell them, their first consideration was to ask which god they had offended. '*What ill omen did I encounter as I left my house this morning?*' cries a character in one of Aristophanes' plays who finds himself in trouble. Even public proceedings, as we have seen, were much affected by superstitious fancies; and the most important issues were often decided upon no better grounds. Once, when the great Athenian fleet was ready to set sail for Sicily, it was discovered that during the night unknown persons had defaced certain sacred images which

---

VIEW FROM DELPHI (*see opposite*)

The eye travels down the gorge to the narrow plain, at the left-hand extremity of which an inlet of the Corinthian gulf is just visible.

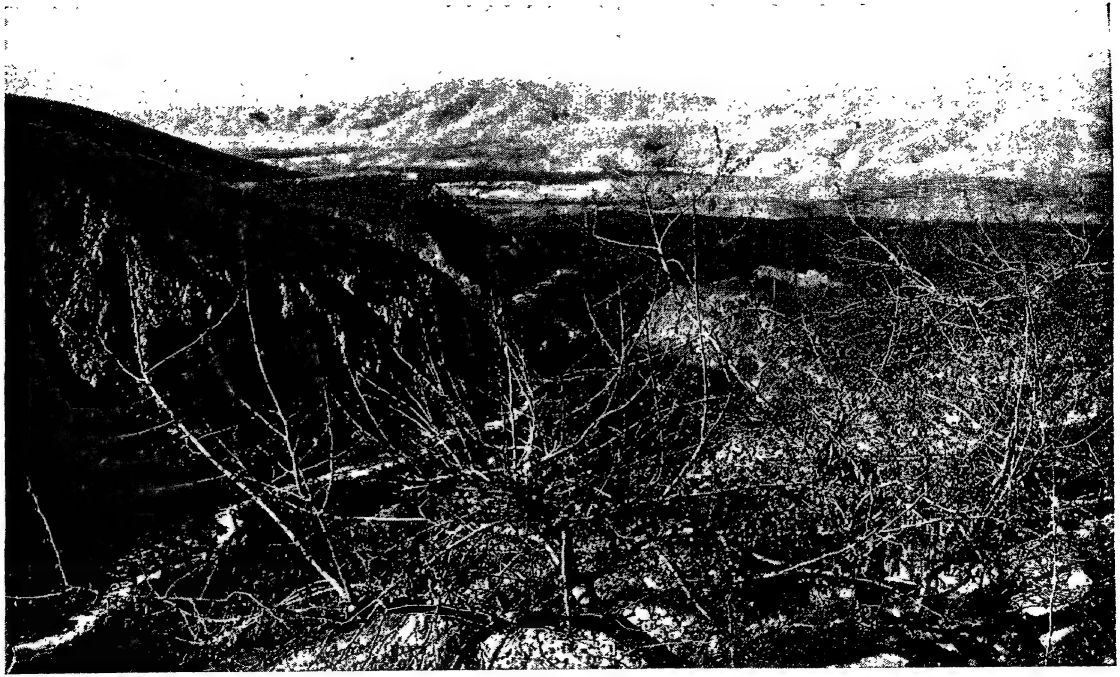


FIG. 41. VIEW FROM DELPHI

lined the streets; and the expedition was very nearly cancelled. Again, when the same expedition stood in imminent danger of defeat and the decision was made to escape by sea before it was too late, an eclipse of the moon occurred, and on the advice of the soothsayers the general Nicias refused to give the order to sail—with fatal results.

Perhaps the most interesting of all Greek superstitions was the belief in oracles. The best known of these was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, where the ruins of the god's sacred precinct may still be seen nestling on its hill-side among wild mountain scenery, with exquisite views of the olive-clad valley beneath. Hither in ancient times came a stream of visitors to ask the god's advice on various problems. Within the temple there is said to have been a chasm through which sulphurous fumes issued. Over the chasm was placed a three-legged stool or tripod; and a priestess, seated on the stool, underwent some sort of ecstatic frenzy in which she gave inspired utterance to the god's views. The priests apparently turned her utterance into hexameter verse and then delivered it to the inquirer. There seems little doubt that the priests themselves were well posted with information about current events, gleaning it, as we may guess, through secret agents. At any rate, they were able to give extraordinarily shrewd answers and sometimes to predict coming events. Not infrequently they 'hedged' and gave an ambiguous answer which could be interpreted in two ways. The most famous instance was of a Lydian monarch who was told that, if he crossed a certain river, he would destroy a great empire. He crossed it full of confidence that he would destroy his enemy's empire; but, unluckily for himself, destroyed his own.

The answers given were sometimes surprisingly irrelevant. There was a man who was afflicted with a stammer and came to ask about a cure. He was told to go and found a colony in Libya. The parents of a lad were once assured that he would win great victories, and on the score of this advice thought of

training him as an athlete; but the victories he actually achieved were won with his pen.

Religion in Greece was not, of course, confined to special occasions of crisis or perplexity. In one way or another it entered into nearly every department of daily life. Thus, no Greek would ever drink a cup of wine without first pouring out a few drops on the floor as a libation to some god. Particular deities were frequently invoked in accordance with the belief in their special powers and properties. If a man dug up a coin in his garden, he would offer thanks to Hermes, the god of treasure-trove. If he set forth on a voyage, he would put up a prayer to Poseidon, the god of the Ocean. Each craft-guild, as we have seen, had its patron-deity and would offer common worship and sacrifice at fixed times. Women, too, held ritual celebrations to which no male was admitted. Many of the national festivals were of an agricultural origin, and were intended to secure divine favour for crops or vintage. The peasantry, as we have said, were especially superstitious. They would observe certain days as propitious for sowing or other operations; and every month at the new moon would anoint themselves with oil. There was one festival, called the Apaturia, which was specially concerned with the ties of blood-relationship. On this occasion families and clans forgathered. Newly born children were presented as it were for christening; and feasts were held at which sausages were consumed in enormous quantities. Pigs were very commonly used as victims, as being best suited to the poor man's purse; but in state ceremonies, such as the Panathenaea, oxen were also sacrificed.

Tradition is slow to die. Even to-day the Greek peasant, when he takes his wine, seldom fails first to pour a few drops into the glass and tip them out ceremoniously upon the floor. He is probably quite unaware of the significance of his act; but the pagan origin of the custom cannot stand in any doubt. Nevertheless, though pagan customs may linger, paganism and

Christianity are a whole world apart. This is no place to analyse the difference; but one striking point of contrast may at least be noted. To the ancient Greeks the deity was something to be regarded with awe, but not with love. At times he was not even treated with respect. There is an extraordinary comedy of Aristophanes, called the *Frogs*, in which the god Dionysus himself is represented as a vulgar, drunken buffoon whose ineptitude and cowardice form the chief humour of the play. Needless to say, the Greeks' taste was not always as outrageous as that. But they would never have understood the feelings of the Hebrew who beat his breast with contrition and humbled himself abjectly before Jehovah's presence. When they prayed they stood erect, raising both hands skywards and speaking in a loud, clear voice.[1] They disliked the oriental custom of grovelling to the deity. A dignified spirit of self-reliance lurked behind this attitude. '*Man*', said one of their philosophers, '*is the measure of all things*.' Human life was to them a magnificent, even if a tragic, adventure; and they had little real thought of any spiritual life beyond. Death was an unmitigated evil, to be met, indeed, with calm courage, but without hope of future happiness. They believed, it is true, in an existence beyond the grave, but Hades or the Underworld was at best a shadowy, unsatisfying place. It had no joys to offer which could compare with the rich, vivid life of this world. The tragedies of Greek poets are full of pathetic speeches in which the dying say a sad farewell to the warm, friendly light of the sun. Funeral customs demanded the cremation of the corpse. Its ashes were then placed in a vase or urn and buried in a cemetery which, for obvious reasons, was always placed outside the city-walls. Here sorrowing relatives would make offerings of mimic banquets for the refreshment

[1] It is true that in certain cults the worshipper adopted a different attitude; but this was merely a relic of an old belief dating from far-away times and connected, like human sacrifice, with the horrible demons of the Underworld of which we spoke above (see p. 29). Such superstitions lingered on, but they were not truly characteristic of the Greek theological outlook.

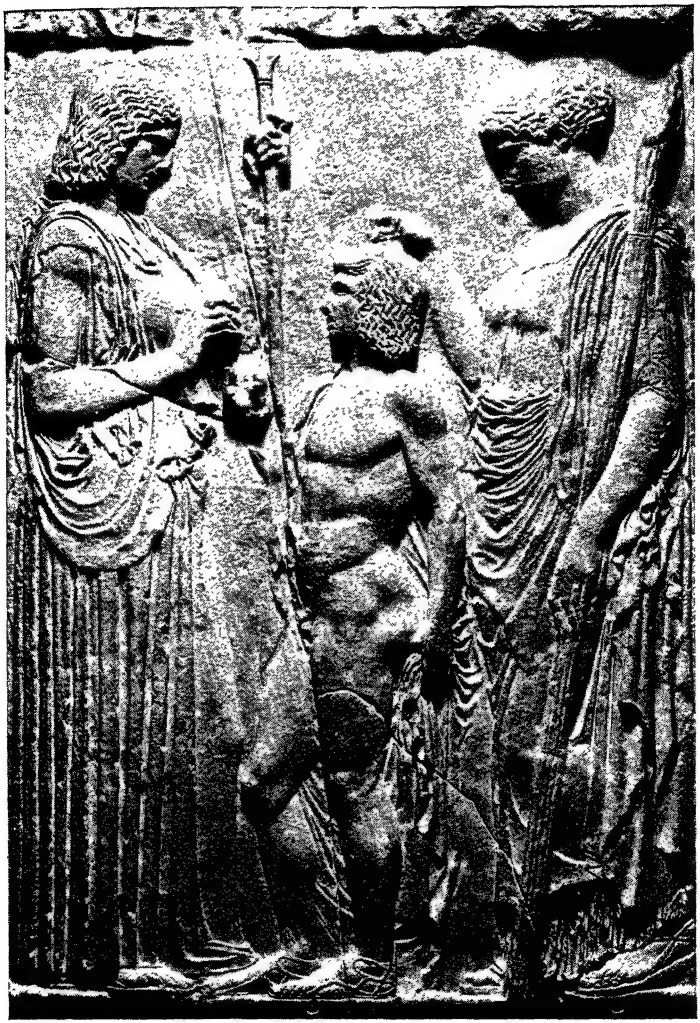


FIG. 42. MYSTIC INITIATION

This bas-relief represents the goddess Demeter, presenting the sacred corn-ears to Triptolemus, a mythical youth, while her daughter Korê stands by with a sacred wand.

of the departed spirit; so dependent was it still thought to be upon the material things of this more substantial world. On the gravestones which they erected were often sculptured figures, and these tell the same tale. The one pleasure of the dead is to remember the joys of earth. The man is represented as arming for battle or the chase; the woman sits with her jewellery-box. The child plays with his toys. No wonder that Greek philosophers were often sceptics or that the poets sometimes plumbed the depth of pessimism.

'*I was not, I came to be; I was, I am not; that is all; and who shall say more, will lie; I shall not be.*'

Or again: '*We all are watched and fed for Death as a herd of swine butchered wantonly.*'

Yet against these it is only justice to set one of the many superb epitaphs on fallen warriors, showing with what spirit the Greeks regarded an heroic death:

Setting on Hellas' brow unfading glory,
These donn'd the mantle of Death's leaden gloom;
Yet, dying, died not. Their high valour's story
Doth so exalt them from the dismal tomb.

One form of Greek worship, however, afforded a better hope of the life hereafter. Among the Greeks, as among most ancient peoples, there was a childlike and reverent wonder at the phenomenon of Natural Growth. When they saw the trees and plants putting forth new buds in spring-time, and after the dead winter season felt the pulse of a new life thrilling in the whole world around them, they not unnaturally believed that some unseen spirit was at work. This spirit they identified with various gods; and at Eleusis, some twelve miles from Athens, there sprang up a cult in which Dionysus the Vine-god, Demeter the Earth Mother, and other divine personages were the presiding deities. Now the celebrations of this cult were of a peculiar type. Only those who had been duly initiated were

permitted to be present at its Mysteries or secret rites. Before being admitted, the candidate was required to purify himself; but such purification consisted for the most part of abstention from certain sorts of food and other forms of outward pollution. The sense of sin was not consciously a burden to the pagan mind; and the idea of a genuine moral purity of life, as we should understand it, played no real part in the preparation for the Eleusinian Mysteries.

When the day for the celebrations came round, the band of devotees collected outside the city-gate and proceeded along the Sacred Way which led to Eleusis. They were clad in white, and in their hands they carried pine-torches which, as the dusk came on, they lighted. Singing hymns to Dionysus they moved across the plain and over the intervening hills until they reached Eleusis. A day or two were spent in further ceremonial; and then, finally, in a darkened hall they were admitted to the crowning rite. There they witnessed mysterious visions which were displayed to them in flashes of light. What those visions were we cannot really tell; for the strictest secrecy was enjoined and the secret was well kept. There would appear to have been some sort of tableaux representing mythological scenes in which the deities of the cult figured. There was an exhibition of the Sacred Wheat-ear, which was clearly a symbol of the rebirth of life. What seems certain is that the devotees were not merely uplifted by some strange mood of ecstatic bliss, but that they actually obtained therefrom some assurance that all would be well with them and that, as the ear of wheat 'is not quickened except it die', so likewise through death the human soul would attain to a fuller life beyond.

FIG. 43. EDUCATION

One boy receives a lesson on the pipes: another in writing: a 'pedagogue' sits near by. On the wall hang (from left to right) a writing-roll, a folded tablet, a lyre, and a ruling square.

XI

EDUCATION

At Athens the state required that all boys should be taught to read and write; girls were not catered for. It was left to parents to choose a school and to pay the fees for the class. The schools themselves were run by private enterprise; and the schoolmasters, as we have said, were but little respected. They often found it difficult to extract their fees. Nevertheless, the fees were low enough to allow even poor parents to get their sons tolerable instruction. Most, indeed, were not satisfied with letters alone. Music and 'gymnastics' were considered an essential part of a liberal education; and these subjects were taught in separate schools other than the grammar-schools.

To see that boys attended their classes regularly and did not get into mischief in the streets, the wealthier parents put them under the care of a slave-tutor called a 'pedagogue', and it was his duty to conduct them from class to class and to sit at the back of the room till it was time to take them home for lunch. The boys' manners and morals were his special charge. Good deportment was much esteemed. A lad was expected to rise when an older man entered the room, and to learn to hold himself correctly. It was bad manners to giggle, to grab at table, or to sit with the legs crossed.

Schooling began when a boy was six, and its elementary stage lasted until he was fourteen. In the grammar[1]-school he would learn to write with a metal instrument on a tablet of soft wax. Lessons in dictation followed. Reading was made easy by methods similar to the modern beginner's manual. Long passages from the national literature were learnt by heart. Homer was the favourite author; for his works, as we have

[1] Our word 'grammar' is derived from the Greek *gramma* (= 'a letter of the alphabet'); cp. *graphō* (= 'I write').

said, were a national institution; but the great dramatists and other poets were also studied. Explanation of difficult passages was given; and much attention was paid to recitation. In reciting, gesture would be freely used; for poetry in those days was not merely meant to be recited aloud, but acted.... At the grammar-master's it is probable that simple arithmetic was also taught. The Greek numerical system was extremely cumbersome, since letters of the alphabet were used in place of a decimal notation. A reckoning-board fitted with pebbles (not unlike the bead-boards which are to be seen in modern nurseries) provided valuable assistance to the beginner.... In the music school the flute was sometimes taught; but its wilder melodies were considered, on the whole, to be unsuitable for the young. The lyre was more popular. It was a sort of harp with seven strings which required a light touch for effective performance. Sometimes the thumb was used, sometimes a quill. Singing went with the lyre—the very term 'lyric' implies a song written for a lyre-accompaniment. There were many fine national songs; and, as we have said, an after-dinner performance was normally expected of a guest. Painting and drawing sometimes formed a part of a 'gentleman's' education, but, like music, these subjects were mainly confined to the sons of the rich.

Meanwhile, side by side with his ordinary schooling, a boy was in constant attendance at the wrestling-school or 'palaestra' kept by some professional trainer. As we have seen above, physical exercise was held to have an important influence on the development of character as well as of body. Drill and dancing were carried on to the tune of the pipe. All the different types of sport were practised, including the pancration. The *paidotribês* or teacher acted umpire in such contests, holding

WRESTLING SCENE (*see opposite*)

Two wrestlers engaged in the Pancration, one using his fist while the other attempts a throw. The trainer with stick looks on.

FIG. 44. WRESTLING SCENE

a forked stick which he would use with effect if rules were broken. The pupil's physical development was entirely in his hands. Massage was often employed as a good tonic for the muscles. A scrape and a swill-down completed the programme of a normal day. Occasionally there would be competitions in skill for which prizes were offered either by the state itself or by local associations of clansmen. Nor were the prizes confined entirely to athletics. We find rewards assigned for reading, reciting, painting, lyre-playing, and even general knowledge. There was thus plenty of incentive for boys to excel; and we have no evidence that they found their studies distasteful.

At fourteen or thereabouts poor parents would require their children's assistance in their craft or trade. The sons of the rich, however, having attained proficiency in elementary subjects, were ready to go farther; and, until they were of an age to undergo their military service, they had four years ahead of them in which to do so. Now the development of Democracy at Athens had one very significant effect. It created a thirst for knowledge; nor is it difficult to see the cause. The manifold opportunities of action and discussion sharpened men's wits. As a citizen of a self-governing community, every individual felt himself endowed with a new importance and was eager to make his way in a society which opened so many avenues to advancement. So there was a demand for fuller education; and simultaneously with the demand there had arisen a class of men competent to satisfy it. From various parts of the Greek world, and more especially from Sicily, came professional teachers who studied knowledge in all its branches. 'Sophists' or 'wisdom-mongers'[1] was the name they went by; and their claims were certainly not modest. One was prepared, for twenty pounds, to give a complete course on 'the whole duties of man'. Another was an authority on astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, grammar, and literature. He was ready to answer any question that was

[1] Hence our word 'sophistry' (= 'a clever but unfair quibble').

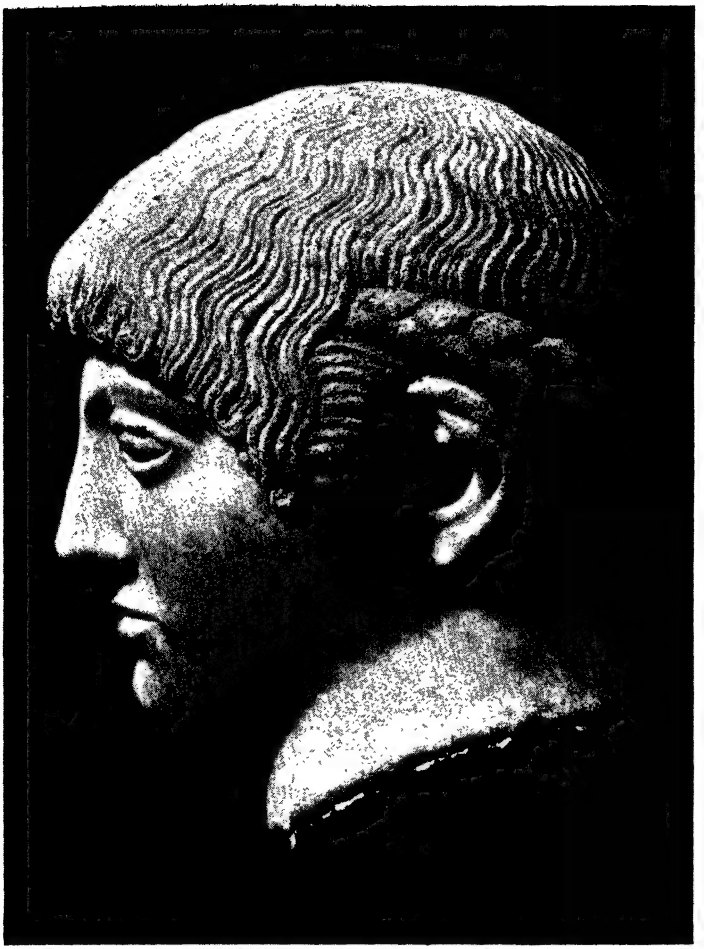


FIG. 45. ATHENIAN BOY

put to him; and he had invented a system whereby, if he had once heard a string of fifty names repeated, he could remember them all. Mathematics, especially geometry, was a favourite subject among sophists; and many proofs and problems, which were subsequently incorporated in Euclid's famous treatise, were already in vogue. Geography and history were also studied. But by far the most popular was instruction in Rhetoric. It was a time, as we have said, when men were anxious to make their way in the world; and, since politics and the law-courts seemed to afford the easiest way of attaining prominence, it was obvious that a training in oratory was the best passport to success. Sophists taught men how to adorn their speeches with elegant phraseology, how to work on the feelings of a jury or a mob, and above all how to argue a point. They were not very particular about the truth or falsehood of the arguments they used, and often resorted to mere quibbling. Here is a sample of sophistic logic. '*Your father is a dog*,' says one. '*So is yours*,' says another. '*Answer my questions and I'll prove it*,' says the first. '*Come now, have you a dog?*' '*Yes, and a sorry one, too.*' '*He has puppies, I take it?*' '*He has.*' '*Then the dog is a father.*' '*So it certainly seems.*' '*Well, and he is yours, is he not?*' '*Yes.*' '*So then he is a father and yours; so the dog is your father, and you are own brother to his puppies.*'

Sophists' reasoning was not, of course, always quite so farcical as this; but they were quite ready, as Aristophanes complains, to 'make the worse appear the better cause'. They gave regular courses in rhetoric, at prices varying according to the length of the course. One guaranteed in advance that, when the course was complete, the pupil would be able to win any law-suit. He was nicely caught out by a certain pupil who refused to pay up at the end, saying, '*Go to law with me if you like; but if I win, you will not get your fee, and if I lose, your guarantee will be broken and I shall not have to pay either.*'

Sometimes the sophists lectured in class-rooms; and in the

fourth century B.C. regular schools were established at the two great gymnasia outside the walls of Athens, one under the philosopher Plato and the other under Aristotle, his pupil. But in the fifth century teachers were in the habit of travelling about from city to city, and they made shift to teach their pupils in the wrestling-schools or wherever else they could find them. The enthusiasm they aroused, especially amongst the young, was extraordinary. It seems that half the idle youths of Athens were at one time occupied in drawing geometrical figures in the sand. The characters in one of Plato's dialogues get up before dawn in order to visit a savant who has lately arrived in the town. Often pupils were so unwilling to abandon their studies that they would follow their teachers to another city. Adults were scarcely less keen. We are told that the great Pericles himself spent half a day debating with a certain professor about an accident which took place at some races. A horse had been killed by a chance throw of a spear, and the question was whether the spear itself was responsible, or the man who threw it, or the stewards who looked after the games. Reading of books seems to have become popular. In one play it is implied that the audience were able to refer to a book of the words; and Plato says that a copy of a certain philosopher's works could be bought for a very low price. Such books were copied (as a rule by slaves) on parchment or on papyrus brought from Egypt. The whole Athenian people seem to have developed an inquisitive habit of mind which Aristophanes parodies in a ridiculous passage, telling how every one was asking 'how' and 'why' and searching out the 'reasons and the roots of things'.

Ay, truly, never now a man
Comes home but he begins to scan,
And to his household loudly cries,
'Why, where's my pitcher? What's the matter?
'Tis dead and gone, my dear old platter.

Who gnawed these olives? Bless the sprat,
Who nibbled off the head of that?
And where's the garlic vanished, pray,
I purchased only yesterday?'

The effect of the sophists' teaching had certainly its bad side. It gave men a taste for superficial knowledge and encouraged an appeal to bare self-interest. Politicians who came under its influence argued freely that might was right; and methods of shameless aggrandizement were justified on the plea of national necessity. Needless to say, there was much debate about problems of personal conduct and morality. How is a man to find happiness? By following his instincts, said some. By living a good life, said others. What is a good life? Is it to obey the rules of society? or is it to follow what an individual's own judgement tells him to be right? One can see where such arguments would surely lead.

Among all who debated these questions the most indefatigable controversialist was the philosopher Socrates. No picture of Athenian life would be complete without some mention of this extraordinary figure—pot bellied, bald headed, snub nosed, with bulging earnest eyes which he rolled from side to side as he walked. In response to a friend's inquiry the Delphic Oracle had pronounced (even before he undertook his lifelong mission of philosophic inquiry) that Socrates was the wisest man in Greece. Greatly puzzled by this compliment, the honest fellow devoted himself to the search for a man who knew more than himself. He went about cross-examining any one who would submit to it, and discovered to his surprise that not one could give him a satisfactory answer to his searching questions. Unlike the professional sophists, he charged no fee of those who listened to his discussions; and as a result he fell into the direst poverty. Nevertheless, he did not abandon his quest. He continued to buttonhole men in the street and to discuss the problems of

FIG. 46. SOCRATES

existence with many young folk who were brought under the spell of his intellectual enthusiasm.

His normal method was always to proceed by question and answer, first persuading his interlocutor to advance some definition or opinion, then proving its absurdity by the unremitting pressure of his ruthless logic. '*What is courage?*' he would ask. '*Courage*', the other would say, '*is the quality of a man who does not run away, but remains at his post.*' '*What, then, would you say,*' continues Socrates, '*of a man who fights flying, after the Scythian manner?*' '*That may be true of the Scythians; but the Greek hoplite, as I have said, fights remaining in his rank.*' Socrates, however, advances the instance of the Spartans at Plataea who drew the Persians out by a pretended flight; and the other is forced to propose a new definition, that courage is endurance with full knowledge of the risks. He is soon compelled to admit that a man who goes into battle well knowing his side will win is not so courageous as the man who does not know. Then, when asked if a man who descends into a well without knowing how to dive is at that rate more courageous than a man who knows, he gets completely bewildered; and so the argument runs on.

Socrates called everything in question, casting doubt on mythological stories of the behaviour of the gods and probing the motives of human conduct to their very foundations. But, destructive critic as he was of many accepted beliefs and conventions, he himself remained a faithful and devoted servant of the state, fighting stoutly on more than one battle-field. His condemnation for atheism seems to have been a gross miscarriage of justice. The charge was mainly based on the fact that he cast doubt on a multiplicity of gods and goddesses. The truth was that, like many thinkers of his own and the succeeding age, he was feeling his way towards a purer and higher conception of the deity. His pupil, Plato, from whom comes most of what we know about Socrates' views, had a more

profound theological outlook than any of the ancients except the Hebrew prophets.

At the same time there can be little question that the teaching of Socrates no less than the teaching of the sophists was most unsettling, particularly to the young. Some of them, like the notorious Alcibiades, became a real danger to the state. For, having learnt from Socrates to call established ideas in question, they proceeded, unlike him, to put their own theories into practice. They followed their individual judgement as against the traditions of the past and gave rein to their selfish instincts at the expense of the common weal. Aristophanes complained bitterly that the manners and morals of the younger generation were going to the dogs. As for Alcibiades, he relapsed into an orgy of self-indulgence and eventually turned traitor to his country.

Thus, indirectly at any rate, the New Learning of the sophists was to prove the ruin of Greece. Slowly but surely it sapped the strength of her people's character. In the succeeding epoch the old sense of allegiance to the state decayed. Men no longer placed the common welfare before their personal interest. Even the Athenians grew lazy and preferred to hire mercenary troops to fight their wars for them. The private houses of the rich began to vie in splendour with public monuments. The history of the fourth century is one sordid tale of mean intrigues, spiteful revenges, and unscrupulous diplomacy. Each man tended to become a law to himself; and the bonds which held the city-state together were gradually loosened.

Such was the mournful outcome of the New Enlightenment. Yet it had its nobler and more enduring side. For Socrates' example was not wholly lost upon his countrymen. His pupil Plato and other great philosophers carried on his earnest and sincere pursuit of truth; and thus, while the political life of Greece was ruined, her intellectual life received a stimulus and inspiration which was to influence the thinkers of all succeeding

time. For Socrates had taught them to trust their reason. '*We must follow whither the argument will lead*' was one of his favourite maxims; and wherever men have learnt to think honestly and to think straight, they have been in a very real sense his pupils.

NOTE.—Most of our English vocabulary which has to do with education is derived from the Greek. Thus, 'philosophy' is from *philo* (I love) and *sophia* (wisdom); 'logic' is the science of *logoi* or words; 'mathematics' originally meant the science of things learnt or discovered; 'geometry' is the measuring of *gê* = the earth; 'geography' the drawing (*grapho* = draw or write) of the earth; 'arithmetic' is the science of *arithmoi* or numbers. 'Physics' is derived from *physis* = nature; and nearly the whole vocabulary of the scientific laboratory will be found to be derived from the Greeks, the first scientists.

CONCLUSION

IT was Pericles' ideal that Athens should be 'an education to Greece'; and there can be no doubt that his ideal was fulfilled in actual fact. Indeed, we can scarcely question that in intelligence, in taste, and in enthusiastic zeal to be up and doing the Athenians as a body have found no equals in the history of the world. A modern psychologist has declared that 'the average intelligence of the Athenian race was as much higher than our own as our own is higher than that of the African negro'. Consider the range of the average Athenian's activities. On their public side, he was a practical politician, an administrator of the law, very possibly a speaker, and quite certainly a soldier or a sailor. If not himself an artist or a craftsman, he was at least capable of appreciating the beauty of others' work; and all that he did he performed with a zest and enterprise which kept him young and vigorous. He practised athletics all his days. He could sing, dance, and play the lyre. He had a thirst for

THE GODDESS ATHENA

She is represented leaning on her spear and looking at a gravestone. She may be reading the names of the citizens who had recently fallen in defence of her city.

knowledge and discussed incessantly the deeper problems of human existence.

Let us hear what Pericles himself had to say about his countrymen. '*Ours*', he said, as Thucydides records of him, '*ours is no workaday city. No other provides so many recreations of the spirit—contests and sacrifices all the year round, and beauty in our public buildings to cheer the spirit and delight the eye. We are lovers of beauty without extravagence, lovers of wisdom without loss of manliness. Our citizens attend both to public and private duties, allowing no absorption in their own affairs to interfere with their knowledge of the city's. The man who holds aloof from public life, we regard as useless. We are noted for being at once the most adventurous in action and the most reflective in preparation therefor. We yield to none, man by man, for independence of spirit, many-sidedness of attainment, and complete self-reliance in limbs and brain. Great, indeed, are the symbols of our supremacy. For our pioneers have forced their way into every corner of sea or land, establishing among mankind eternal memorials of their settlement.*'

The speech from which these extracts have been quoted was delivered by Pericles in memory of the Athenians who had fallen during the first year of the Peloponnesian War against Sparta. He himself died shortly afterwards; but the war ran on. At the end of ten years a peace was patched up, but it proved short-lived; and soon Athens, overreaching herself in her ambition, embarked on the tremendous adventure of invading Sicily. The disaster which there befell her fleet was the beginning of her decline. Taking advantage of the catastrophe, many of her subject-allies revolted. Persia, still a jealous and watchful enemy, assisted them and Sparta by financing the construction of an efficient fleet; and eventually, in a great naval battle fought at Aegospotami in 405 B.C., Athens lost her command of the sea. By the stern conditions which were subsequently imposed upon her she was utterly humbled. Her ships were taken from her;

even her Long Walls were razed. Her chance of uniting all Greece under her leadership was gone for ever.

Throughout the first half of the following century the history of the country was nothing better than an interminable dog-fight between state and state. At first Sparta was 'top dog'; then Thebes. At one time even Athens resumed some pretensions to a maritime supremacy. But a more powerful than any of these was presently to emerge. Far away on the northern frontier of the Greek peninsula lay the half-civilized people of Macedon. Their king, Philip, was a man of vast ambition and iron character. Out of his wild fellow tribesmen he created a first-rate army. By tireless pertinacity he strove to ingratiate himself with the Greeks, who at first despised him as an outsider. At last he found the opportunity to intervene in their midst, being summoned by one party to decide a religious quarrel. Athens and Thebes, realizing the peril, determined to oppose him; but at Chaeronea in 338 B.C. their armies suffered overwhelming defeat. This was the end of Greek freedom. The country lay under the heel of Macedon.

It can scarcely be denied that the Greeks had deserved their fate. The interminable feuds between state and state had utterly exhausted their strength. Within the states themselves, the sense of patriotism and unity had been sapped by tendencies of which we spoke above. This quick-witted folk had developed their intelligence at the expense of their character. They had disputed, intrigued, and overreached one another till the life of the city-state had been poisoned at the root. One is tempted to say that their vaunted intellectualism had proved a miserable fiasco; and so in a sense it might have been if this had been the end. But it was not the end. On the death of Philip, his son Alexander, having succeeded to the throne, set out to conquer the East. He swiftly overran the Persian Empire, and round the coasts of the Levant he established new centres of Greek civilization. In these centres, and especially at Alexandria in

Egypt, the culture of Greece received a new lease of life. The work of philosophers and scientists was carried on with a fresh vigour. Many practical discoveries, in medicine and other arts, were the result; and the prestige of these new seats of learning threw even decadent Athens into the shade. Now, in course of time, Rome began to extend her conquests eastwards. Till then her people, though warlike, had been almost completely boorish and illiterate. But as, step by step, they came in contact with peoples of Greek culture they too fell under its spell. Greek teachers poured into Italy. Greek art, literature, and thought were studied; and from Greek models all that the Romans themselves were able to achieve in these fields was directly or indirectly derived. Finally, as her Empire spread, and her civilization with it, Rome handed on to the peoples of western Europe the heritage which she had herself received from Greece. Thus, while it may be true that the Greeks destroyed their own country in the process of thinking things out, they had none the less set something in motion which was of infinite consequence to all posterity. For, had it not been for their thinking, it can hardly be doubted that we ourselves should still be living in a condition of gross superstition and semi-barbarism. There is no evidence that Gauls, Spaniards, or Britons would have been capable of making the forward step for themselves.

It is to the Greeks, then, that we owe to-day by far the greater part of our intellectual and artistic heritage. Especially since the Renaissance of the sixteenth century, when scholars and thinkers were greatly influenced by the rediscovery of Greek literature, almost wholly neglected during the Middle Ages, the debt has been redoubled. How great that debt is it would be difficult to exaggerate. Half the buildings in London, or any great town, are designed in styles invented by Greek architects. Since the Renaissance the greatest masters of sculpture have been inspired by the work of Greek artists. From Greek authors the arts of history and biography have been derived. Oratory,

as we know it, came originally from Greece. Drama, especially the French drama, has been much influenced by the Attic tragedians. There is scarcely one of the great poets who was not in some sense a debtor to the Greeks. But, above all, the thought of the Western World takes its spring and origin from them. The creed of the Christian Church was formulated in terms drawn from the Greek philosophers. Modern science took its starting-point in the study of long-forgotten Greek treatises. The ideas of Plato and Aristotle lie at the back of all modern attempts to solve the problems of Life and the Universe. In a word, the Greek spirit has been the stimulus and inspiration of all honest inquiry after truth.

What the Greek spirit was we have endeavoured to convey in the preceding pages. Its essence was an ardent belief in the free exercise of the human faculties—freedom, that is, for every man to take his share in the direction of his country's destiny; freedom to enjoy the activities of mind and body with which Nature has provided him; freedom, above all, to follow the dictates of his own reasoning powers. And just because the Greek was willing to trust his reason and 'follow whither the argument might lead', he was able to see, more clearly than most men have seen, what is really worth while in life. True, he had his limitations, and very serious limitations they were. There were many elements of coarseness and cruelty in his character. He was blind to the inhumanity of slavery and the degradation of his womenfolk. The specifically Christian virtues formed no part of his moral make-up. But, apart from these limitations, he 'saw life steadily and saw it whole'. He knew what made for a full and happy life—healthy exercise of body, skill of hand and energy of brain, the zest of a congenial occupation and the enjoyment of a leisure well used for the appreciation of the beautiful, the society of friends, and a vigorous interchange of ideas. It is difficult to feel that the average Englishman of the twentieth century has an equally clear conception of life's opportunities.

GLOSSARY OF GREEK NAMES, ETC.

(N.B. Pronounce ch *hard* as in ache)

Achĭl′lēs
Acrŏp′ŏlis
Aegis′thus
Aegŏspŏt′ămi
Ae′schylus
Ăgămem′non
Ăg′ăthon
Àg′ŏra
Alcĭbī′ădēs
Alcĭn′ŏus
Alphĕsĭboe′a
Andrŏm′ăchē
Ăpătur′ia
Arēs
Arĕŏp′ăgus
Aristŏdē′mus
Aristŏph′ănēs
Asclē′pius
Athē′nă or Athē′nē

Chaerŏnē′a
Chā′ron
Clytemnēs′tra

Dēlos
Dēmē′ter
Demŏcē′dēs
Dēmŏs′thĕnēs
Diŏnȳ′sus

Ĕleu′sis
Ephē′boi
Eurĭp′ĭdēs
Eurō′tas

Hā′dēs
Hĕphae′stus
Hĕrŏdŏ′tus
Hippŏc′rătēs
Hȳmet′tus

Ĭlĭad
Iphĭgĕnei′a

Lăcĕdae′mon
Lau′rĕum
Lĕŏn′ĭdas
Lȳcur′gus
Lȳs′ĭas

Mĕg′ărŏn
Mĕtic
Mī′notaur
Mȳcē′nae

Nausĭc′ăa
Nī′cĭas

Ŏd′ȳssey

Pănăthĕnae′a
Păncrăt′ĭon
Par′thĕnon
Pĕl′ŏpŏnnēse
Pĕnĕl′ŏpē
Pentĕl′ĭcus
Pĕr′ĭclēs
Phei′dias
Pŏlȳclī′tus
Pŏsei′don
Praxĭt′ĕlēs

Săl′ămis
Soc′rătēs
Sŏph′ŏclēs
Sphactē′ria
Strĕpsī′ădēs

Taȳ′gĕtus
Thermop′ylae
Thūcȳd′ĭdēs

Xanthip′pē
Xĕn′ŏphon
Xer′xēs

INDEX

Achaeans, 11.
Acharnae, 90.
Achilles, 14, 16, 23, 28; verses on his shield, 17, 18, 20.
Acropolis, 50, 56, 102, 104, 108, 111, 120.
actors, 122, 124, 126, 128.
Aegospotami, 151.
Aeschylus, 128.
Agamemnon, 29.
Agathon, 80.
Agora, the, 73.
agriculture, 16, 89.
Alcibiades, 149.
Alcinous, 16, 25, 28.
Alexander the Great, 74, 153.
Alphesiboea, 18.
anatomy, 99, 108.
Andromache, 28.
'Answerer', 122.
Apaturia, 133.
Apollo, 29, 30.
architecture, 102.
archon, 55.
Areopagus, 57.
Ares, 30.
Argive Plain, 12.
Aristodemus, 80.
Aristophanes, 67, 80, 88, 91, 98, 111, 129, 144, 149.
Aristotle, 87, 145, 155.
arithmetic, 140, 150.
armour, 22, 43.
Asclepius, 99.
astrologers, 98.
Athena, 29, 30, 108.
Athens, 29, 47 ff.
athletics, 28, 38, 111–18, 140, 142.
athlon, 111.

Bacchus, 81, 130.
ball games, 111.
banquets, 78.
'barbarians', 95.
barber's shop, 74.
baths, 71, 76.
battering-rams, 44.
betrothals, 82.
books, 145.
boxing, 114.
branding, 87.
'Bronze Fly', 111.
building, 102.

carts, 98.
cattle, 18.
cavalry, 44.
Cerameicus, 100.
Chaeronea, 153.
charcoal-burners, 90.
chariot races, 116.
chariots, 98.
charms, 130.
Charon, 94.
chorus, the, 124.
Citadel, 68.
city-state, 31.
Cleon, 53, 54, 55.
climate, 68, 71.
clothes, 44, 68, 74.
cock-fighting, 111.
coins, 92–4.
comedy, 126, 129.
conversation, 72.
Corinth, 92, 98.
Corinthian architecture, 104.
corn, 90.
'Cottabos', 80.
craftsmen, 16, 81.
cremation, 134.
Crete, 11, 29.
crime, 57.
Crypteia, 40.

dancing, 26, 78, 112, 140.
Dardanelles, 14.
darics, 92.
death, 134.
Delian League, 50.
Delos, 50.
Delphi, 29, 30, 119.
Delphic oracle, 132.
demagogues, 53.
'deme', 55, 59.
Demeter, 135.
Democedes, 99.
democracy, 51.
dice, 111.
Dionysia, the Great, 120.
Dionysus, 120, 135–6.
doctors, 99.
Dorians, 30, 35.
Doric architecture, 103, 104.
dowry, 84.
drachma, 93.
drainage, 71, 110.
dramatic entertainments, 120–9.
draughts, 111, 113.
drawing, 140.
dreams, 130.
drilling, 112, 140.
drinking, 77–81.
drinking-songs, 80.

Ecclesia, 52.
education, 36, 138–50.
Egypt, 20, 22.
Egyptians, 32.
Eleusinian Mysteries, 137.
Epheboi, 60.
Ephors, 35.
Epidaurus, 125.
Euripides, 128, 129.
Eurotas, river, 35, 38.
eyes, treatment of, 74.

farmers, 81.
festal celebrations, 120.
fighting, *see* warfare.
flogging, 36, 87.
food, 42, 70, 74, 76–81.
funeral customs, 134.
furniture, 71.

games, 80, 111–18.
geography, 144.

geometry, 144, 150.
Gerousia, 35.
goats, 90.
gods, 29, 30, 129, 130, 133.
government, 31.
gymnasiums, 112.
gymnastics, 76, 138; *see* athletics.

Hades, 134.
hairdressing, 74.
handicrafts, 100.
heating apparatus, 71.
Hector, 14, 28.
Helen, 28.
Hellenes, 11.
Helots, 35, 40, 42, 44.
Hephaestus, 100.
Hera, 130.
Hermes, 133.
Herodotus, 95, 97, 99.
Hippocrates, 99.
historia, 95.
'hockey', 111, 115.
Homer, 14, 16, 22–6, 138.
hoops, 111.
hoplites, 41, 43, 45.
horse-racing, 111, 118.
houses, 70.
hunting, 20.
Hymettus, Mt., 68.
'Hypocrites', 122.

Iliad, 14.
Ilissus, river, 72.
inns, 98.
Ionic architecture, 104.
Iphigeneia, 29.
Isthmian games, 118.
Italy, 34.
Ithaca, 14.

javelin-throwing, 114, 116.
jumping, 114, 116.
juries, 57, 59.

Labyrinth, 29.
Lacedaemon, Vale of, 35, 38.
'laconic', 40.
land travel, 97.
Laureum, 89.
law courts, 56.
Lycurgan system, 35–43.
Lycurgus, 35.
lyre, the, 78, 129, 140, 142.

Macedon, 152.
manners, 28.
marble, 104.
market-place, 73, 74.
massage, 140.
mathematics, 140, 144, 150.
meals, 42, 70, 74, 76–81.
medicine, 99.
'Megaron', 14.
merchants, 95.
Mesopotamia, 32.
Messenia, 35.
'metopes', 106.
mina, 94.
Minotaur, 29.
money, 92–4.
music, 78, 138, 140.
musical drill, 112.
Mycenae, 12, 14, 30.

nature worship, 135.
Nausicaa, 28.
naval warfare, 64.
Nicias, 53, 89, 98, 132.

obols, 94.
Odysseus (Ulysses), 14, 26, 28, 29.
Odyssey, 14, 25.
oil, as soap, 76.
oligarchy, 34.
olives, 18, 90.
Olympia, 29, 98, 108.
Olympian games, 116.
Olympus, Mt., 29, 30.
oracles, 132.
orchestra, 124, 129.

paidotribês, 140.
painting, 140, 142.
'Palaestra', 112, 140.
Panathenaea, 120.
Pancration, 114, 118, 140.
Parnassus, Mt., 118.
Parthenon, 104, 106, 108, 110, 120.
Pasion, 94.
'patriarchal' age, 24.
'pedagogue', 138.
'pediments', 106.
Penelope, 14, 28.
Pentathlon, 116.
Pentelicus, Mt., 104.
Pericles, 50, 51, 71, 82, 102, 110, 130, 145, 150, 152.
Persians, 47, 50.
phalanx, 43.
Pheidias, 106, 108.
Philip of Macedon, 153.
Phoenicians, 20, 25.
pilgrimages, 98.
pillory, 87.
Pindar, 118.
pirates, 96.
Piraeus, 67.
Plataea, 47.
Plato, 72, 78, 80, 112, 145, 148, 149, 155.
plays, 56, 120–9.
Pnyx, 53.
polis, 32.
politics, 51.
Polyclitus, 108.
Poseidon, 29, 133.
pottery, 100.
Praxiteles, 108.
prayer, 134.
priests, 98, 132.
professions, 98–100.
punch-balls, 112.
punishments, 87–8.

quoit-throwing, 114, 116.

racing, 114, 116.
reading, 138, 142, 145.
reciting, 38, 99, 140, 142.
religion, 29, 129–36.
rhetoric, 38, 144.
riddles, 80.
roads, 97.
running, 112, 116.

sacrifices, 29, 53, 84, 120, 133.
sailors, 81, 96.
Salamis, 47, 50.
Satyric drama, 126.
scenery, 31.
schoolmasters, 99.
schools, 138.
sculpture, 106 ff.
seamanship, 20, 23, 96.
shaving, 74.
sheep, 90.
ships, 62, 64.
shopkeepers, 81.
Sicily, 34.
siesta, the, 74.
silver mines, 87, 92.
singing, 78, 80, 140.
slaves, 82, 87–9.
Socrates, 72, 73, 74, 78, 80, 130, 146–50.
soothsayers, 98.
sophists, 142–6, 149.
Sophocles, 112, 128.
Spartans, 35–47, 151–2.
Sphacteria, 53.
spinning, 84.
sports, 28, 38, 140, 142.
statues, 106.
stealing, 36.
Stoa, Painted, 73.
Styx, 94.
Sumerians, 32.
superstitions, 130, 132–3.
surgery, 100.
Syssitia, 42.

talent, 94.
Tartessus, 97.
taxation, 56.
Taygetus, Mt., 35, 38.
temples, 102.
theatre, the, 120–9.
Thebes, 152.
Thermopylae, 74.
Thucydides, 53, 67, 82, 152.
Tiryns, 12, 14, 30.
torture, 87.
trading, 44, 47, 51, 73, 89–98.
tragedy, 124, 129.
trireme, 64.
Troy, 14, 22, 28.
Tyrtaeus, 38.

Ulysses, *see* Odysseus.

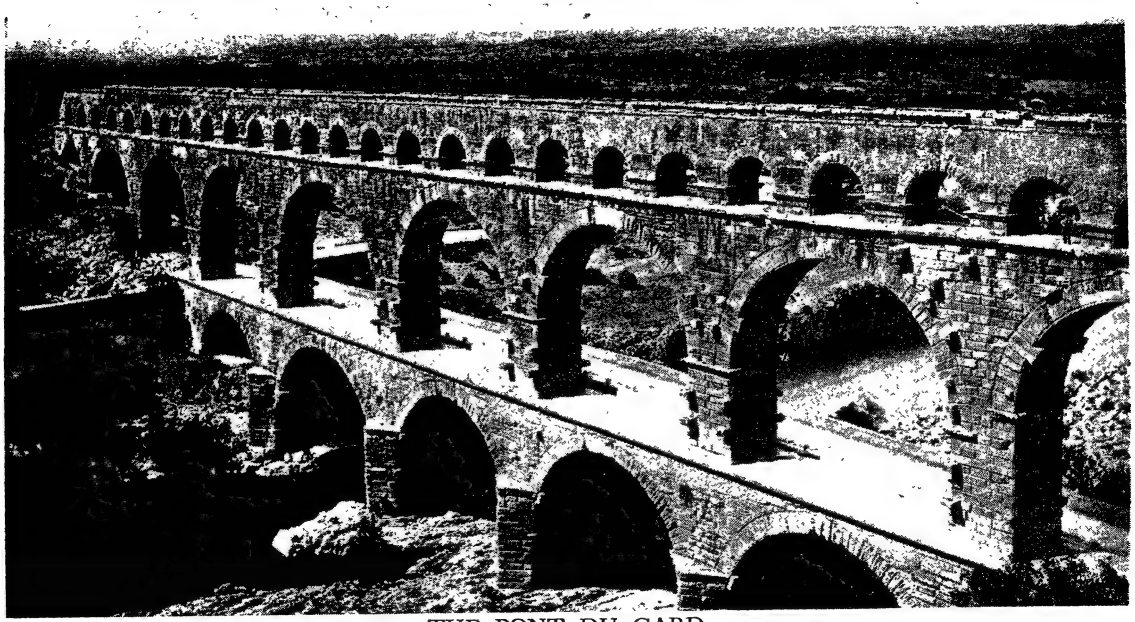
Vaphio, 14.
vases, 102.
vines, 90.

wages, 94.
warfare, 22–4, 43–7, 60, 64.
weapons, 22, 43.
weaving, 84.
weddings, 84.
wine, 77–8.
women, 28, 36, 71, 76, 81–7, 120, 133.
wrestling, 112, 114, 116, 140.
writing, 138.

Xanthippe, 86.
Xenophon, 78, 80.
Xerxes, 47.

Zeus, 29, 108, 130.

PRINTED IN
GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
OXFORD
BY
JOHN JOHNSON
PRINTER
TO THE
UNIVERSITY



THE PONT DU GARD

'One of the most daring and beautiful constructions by Roman engineers and architects.' This mighty bridge, rising 160 ft. above the river bed, was part of the water-supply system for the Roman town of Nemansus (now Nîmes). The water flowed in a channel on the topmost row of arches

EVERYDAY LIFE IN ROME

IN THE TIME OF CAESAR AND CICERO

by

H. A. TREBLE, M.A.

and

K. M. KING, B.A.

Assistant Masters
Selhurst Grammar School
Croydon

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMEN HOUSE, E.C. 4
London Edinburgh Glasgow New York
Toronto Melbourne Capetown Bombay
Calcutta Madras
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE
UNIVERSITY

FIRST PUBLISHED 1930
REPRINTED 1931, 1932, 1935, 1939
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

PREFACE

THIS little book on Roman life is intended in the first place for young pupils beginning the study of Latin. They will doubtless be attracted more by the illustrations than by the text; but as the text is largely a translation of the illustrations into language simple enough to be understood by youthful minds, it is hoped that even a preliminary reading will be found to make an instructive beginning and to do something towards creating an intelligent interest which can gradually develop into real knowledge. A second and more intensive study of the book, it is suggested, can profitably be made in the year of the School Leaving Examination when the Latin terms, largely neglected during the first-year reading, can really be assimilated.

The style of the book has been left as simple as possible and all unnecessary detail has been avoided. At the same time we believe that the facts given are in every respect in line with the most recent researches of modern archaeology.

Our warmest thanks are due to Dr. E. Norman Gardiner, who has shown the keenest interest in the book throughout its preparation and who has placed at our disposal the benefits of his ripe scholarship and practical experience; and to the officers of the Clarendon Press for the choice of illustrations.

Three books have been largely used for reference. First, there is W. Warde Fowler's brilliant and absorbing study of *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*; secondly, for all technical matters, H. Stuart Jones's *Companion to Roman History*; thirdly, for illustrations from Latin literature, *The Life of Rome*, compiled by Messrs. Rogers and Harley.

CROYDON, *December* 1929.

H. A. T.
K. M. K.

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations 8

I. A Brief Sketch of Roman History . . 11

II. The City of Rome 19

III. Roman Houses in Town and Country . . 30

IV. A Typical Day in the Life of a Roman . 43

V. Roman Dress 50

VI. Roman Boyhood and Education . . . 54

VII. Public Amusements 65

VIII. Marriage and Funeral Customs . . . 73

IX. Trade and Money 80

X. Slavery 86

XI. Roads and Travel 90

XII. The Roman Calendar 97

XIII. The Roman Army: Ranks and Organization . 100

XIV. The Roman Army in the Field . . . 108

XV. The Roman Army in Triumph . . . 115

XVI. Naval Affairs 118

XVII. The Religion of the Romans . . . 121

XVIII. Festivals and Sacrifices 132

XIX. The Government of Rome 138

XX. The Roman Law-Courts 147

XXI. Our Debt to Rome 151

Appendix I 157

Appendix II 158

Index 159

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The Pont du Gard. *Photograph, Lévy et Neurdein réunis* *Frontispiece*

The Foundation of Rome. A typical Italian hill town. *Photograph by Mr. R. Gardner* 10

Ancient Italy. 12

An Etruscan Nobleman and his Wife. *Photograph, Alinari* . . 15

Etruscan Peasant ploughing. *Photograph, Alinari* . . . 15

Warfare in Latium about 350 B.C. *Photograph, Alinari*. . . 16

Julius Caesar. *Photograph, Anderson*. 17

Rome 20

The Isola Tiberina. *Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart* . . 23

In the Forum. *Photograph by Mr. R. Gardner* 25

A Triumphal Arch set up by the Emperor Titus. *Photograph by Mr. R. Gardner* 27

The Via Sacra. *Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart* . . . 29

Excavations in progress at Pompeii 31

A Burial Urn 32

A typical Pompeian house. *After Mau, 'Pompeji in Leben und Kunst'* 32

Ground-plan of the House of the Vettii 34

The Inner Courtyard of the House of the Vettii. *Photograph, Brogi* . 36

A Wall-painting in the House of the Vettii. *Photograph, Brogi* . 38

The Painted Altar of the Household Gods. *Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart*. 39

A Roman House at Ostia. *Restoration by I. Gismondi*, 1921 . . 41

Plan of Villa Rustica at Boscoreale 42

A Roman Lamp. *British Museum* 43

A Roman Water-clock 44

The Forum of Trajan. *After E. J. Banks* in '*Art and Archaeology*', *vol. iv, by permission* 47

A Roman at Table. 48

Plan of the Seating at a Roman dinner-table. *After W. Warde Fowler, in 'Social Life at Rome', by permission of Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd.* 49

Roman Dress. *British Museum* 51

A Roman Bridegroom and his Bride. *From a sarcophagus in the British Museum. Photograph, Mansell*. 53

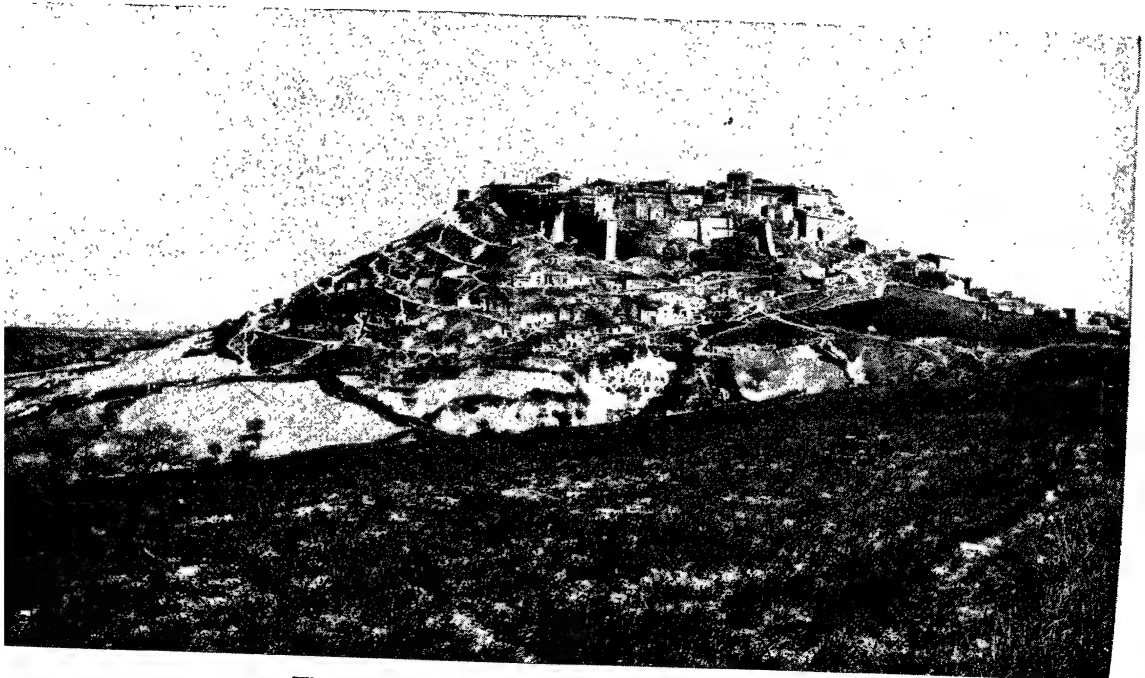
Roman Hairdressing 55

A Cloth Factory or perhaps a Tailor's Shop. *Photograph, Alinari* . 55

Four Stages in the Upbringing of a Roman boy. *Photograph, Giraudon* 57

An Abacus. *By permission from 'The Encyclopaedia Britannica', vol. i, 11th ed.* 60

Ancient Writing Materials. *British Museum* 63
A Schoolmaster and his Pupils. *Photograph, Provinzialmuseum, Trier* 64
The Colosseum at Rome. *Photograph, Anderson* 67
A Fight in the Arena. *Photograph, Anderson* 68
A Chariot Race in the Circus 71
Two Gladiators practising. *Photograph, Provinzialmuseum, Trier* . 72
A Roman Funeral. *Photograph, Moscioni* 77
A Columbarium 79
An Italian Harbour. *From Guglielmotti, 'Dissertazioni della Pontificia'. (Accademia Romana di Archeologia, 1881)* . . 83
A Roman bronze *As. British Museum* 85
Manumission by the rod. 89
Augustus' Golden Milestone. *Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart* . 92
Travel by Land 95
A Merchant Ship 96
Uniforms of the Roman Army. *From Cichorius, 'Die Reliefs der Traianssäule' (G. Reimer, Berlin)* 105
A Roman Transport Wagon 107
Plan of a Roman Camp 108
Roman Legionary Soldiers building their camp. *Photograph by the German Archaeological Institute, Rome.* 111
A Roman Fort in the Mountains of Cumberland. *From a drawing by W. G. Collingwood* 113
A Roman Battleship. *Photograph, Alinari* 119
A Grove on a Hill-top near Rome, sacred in Roman times. *Photograph by Mr. Percival Hart* 123
Statue of a Vestal Virgin. *Photograph, Anderson.* . . . 127
The State Religion of Rome. *Restoration after Carey and Deam* . 131
Suovetaurilia. *Photograph, Giraudon* 135
Law and Order. *By courtesy of Musée Calvet, Avignon* . . 139
A Roman Senator. *Sion House* 145
The Tarpeian Rock on the Capitol. *Photograph, Alinari* . . 149
A Roman Road 155



The Foundation of Rome. A typical Italian hill town

In spite of her defensive position, it would appear that at some time in the sixth century B.C. the Etruscans succeeded in capturing Rome, but the conquerors were driven out by a rebellion of the Roman nobles in 509 B.C. Tarquin the Proud, the king who was expelled, tried to regain the throne with the help of Etruscan armies, but without success.

The Romans hated the very name of king and they now set up a republic. The city was governed by two consuls, elected to hold office for one year. This was too short a period for them to become tyrannical; moreover, one consul could always act as a check on the other. This arrangement lasted till the Empire was founded by Augustus nearly five centuries later. (Five hundred years ago from now, the Wars of the Roses had not been fought. When we think how many changes there have been in the government of England since then, it is evident that the Romans chose for themselves a form of government that stood the test of time remarkably well. In this respect they showed at a very early date one of their greatest characteristics.)

At the beginning of the Republic, Rome was only one of the cities of Latium, and, though the most outstanding of them, she was not very much more powerful than the rest. This can be seen from the treaties that were made between the various Latin cities, by which each had the right of trade and intermarriage with the people of all the other cities in the league, including Rome. Now it always happens sooner or later in every group of individuals, or of cities, or of nations, that one becomes more powerful than the rest. Very soon it was clear that Rome would be the chief city in the Latin league. When the others saw this they were jealous, and actually gave no help when Rome was nearly overwhelmed by the Gauls from Northern Italy in 390 B.C.

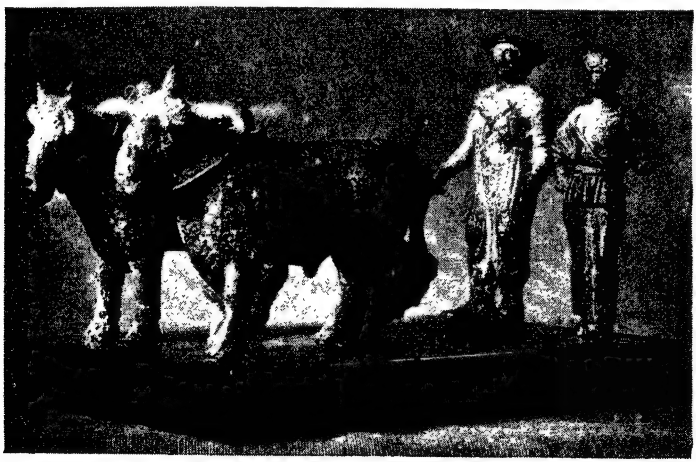
But Rome weathered the storm, and coming out of her

danger stronger than before, she altered her treaties with the Latin cities so that, while each might trade and intermarry only with the Romans, Rome had the advantage of both trading and intermarrying with the citizens of all the other cities. In this way the Latins were the first to pay the penalty of standing against Rome. At the same time Rome made an alliance with the great African city of Carthage, which promised to help in keeping Rome at the head of the league. Rome strengthened her hold on Latium by building the first of her great military roads (the *Via Latina*) and founding fortresses (*coloniae*) at points of military importance.

The extension of her power over the whole of Latium brought Rome into conflict with the hardy mountaineers of Samnium. They proved to be formidable enemies, and Rome suffered one of her greatest humiliations when a whole army surrendered at a place known as the Caudine Forks in the course of the Samnite Wars. But in the end Rome prevailed, in spite of a combined movement against her by the Samnites, the Umbrians, and the Etruscans. Her victory was due to the advantages of her geographical position and the fine character of her citizens.

The war with Samnium brought Rome to the borders of the Greek lands in the south—Magna Graecia, as that part of Italy was called. The leading city was Tarentum; and it was clear that against this city Rome would soon have to pit her strength. The Greeks sought an ally in Pyrrhus, king of Epirus in north-western Greece, a king who dreamed of rivalling the conquests of Alexander the Great. It is true that he won several battles at the expense of the Romans, but at such a cost that he was obliged to return to Greece and leave the Greek colonies to fall into the hands of Rome. Thus, by the year 270 B.C., Rome was mistress of all Italy south of the Apennines, though we must note that she had

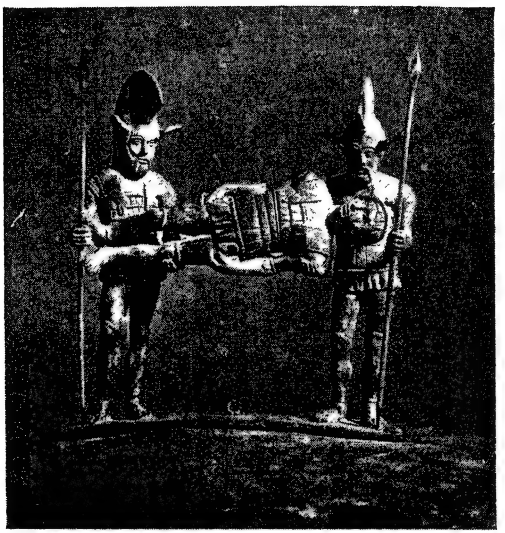
An Etruscan nobleman and his wife. A terra-cotta sculpture from an Etruscan tomb



A group of bronze figures of the sixth century B.C., representing an Etruscan peasant ploughing. Behind him stands a figure of the goddess Minerva

made no attempt to spread her power over the valley of the Po, between the Apennines and the Alps.

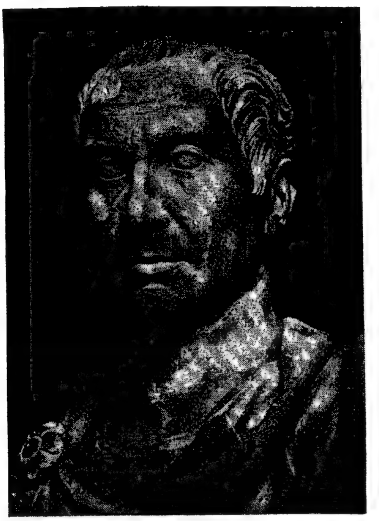
Rome was now well on the road of conquest and could not draw back. Before long a struggle began between Rome and Carthage. This great trading city on the north coast of Africa



WARFARE IN LATIUM ABOUT 350 B.C.
An early bronze group found at Palestrina, showing two bearded warriors carrying the dead body of a comrade

was the most dangerous rival that Rome ever had, and the war was a struggle for existence between the two cities. Several times it seemed that Rome would be defeated, but the patriotism of her citizens saved her again and again. At last, in 146 B.C., Carthage was finally destroyed. Rome was now mistress of the western Mediterranean, and had the beginnings of an overseas empire. Her wealth and power were increasing rapidly. Before long all the Mediterranean lands were under her rule.

These successes of Rome brought various difficulties and problems with them. Victorious generals led home in triumph thousands of slaves who did the work that the citizens had done before. The rich became richer while the poor became poorer. Then two brothers belonging to one of the noblest



JULIUS CAESAR

families, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, tried to put matters right. Amongst other things, they wanted to have the lands belonging to the State divided more fairly amongst all the citizens. There were many who opposed the plan, and Tiberius, who set the laws aside in order to have his way, was slain in a riot caused by his enemies. Caius met a similar fate nine years later (123 B.C.) when he tried to carry on his brother's work.

These unruly years gave the army a chance to gain power. Often a successful general—that is, one who could reward his men with much plunder—had more power in the Roman world than the consuls had, though sometimes generals used their power to have themselves elected to the consulate. Marius and the still more powerful Sulla were the first of these great generals.

Their fame has been overshadowed by the greater fame of two generals that came after them—Pompey and Julius Caesar. Pompey had great success in his wars in the East, and for some time was the greatest man in the Roman world. At this period Caesar was making a name for himself in Gaul, i.e. modern France. Soon it became clear that neither Pompey nor Caesar would be content with second place. Civil war broke out. Pompey was defeated at Pharsalia in Greece, and was murdered soon afterwards in Egypt.

Julius Caesar was now a king in all but name. He used his power wisely and so much for the benefit of the people that he was offered the crown, though Rome had been a republic for more than four centuries. He refused to accept the crown; but there were some in Rome, including his friend Brutus, who feared his power. Rather than see him king they hatched a plot against him, and on 15 March 44 B.C. Caesar was murdered in the Senate House.

The conspirators did not long remain in Rome, and soon an army was led against them to avenge the death of Caesar. Its leaders, who were called the Triumvirs, were Octavius (Caesar's nephew and heir), Mark Antony, and Lepidus. At Philippi in Greece the army of the conspirators was defeated. The Triumvirs now had all the power in their hands, but before long they quarrelled. Lepidus, the least important, soon ceased to count. Antony stayed idling in Egypt at the court of Queen Cleopatra, while Augustus (who had taken

his uncle's name, Caesar) made ready a fleet. With this he utterly defeated Antony at Actium in 31 B.C. Antony killed himself rather than fall into his rival's hands, and Augustus Caesar became master of the Roman world.

For some years he carried on the pretence that there was no change of government, but in 27 B.C., when he was consul for the seventh time, he took the title of *Princeps*. This marked the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire.

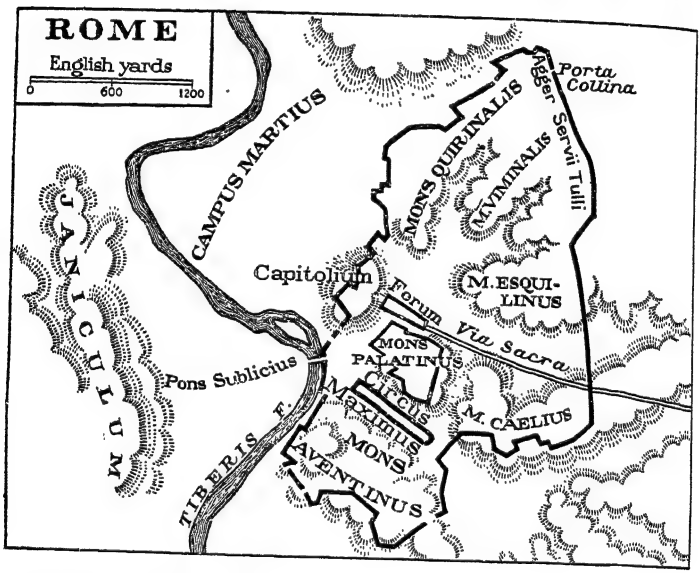
Rome had not quite reached the limits of her territorial power; but the civil strife of the preceding century had weakened the moral strength of the Romans, and already the seeds of decay had been sown. There were still great conquests to be achieved, and great additions to be made to Latin literature and art, but the old virtues of self-restraint (*continentia*), steadfastness (*constantia*), and manliness (*virtus*) had almost vanished from the Roman character.

II

THE CITY OF ROME

IN the last chapter we touched briefly upon the geographical advantages of Rome. These consisted of the hills, the river Tiber, and the broad plain of Latium across which a system of military roads was constructed. The earliest settlement was on the Palatine, but the later City included a number of other hills. They were the Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, and Caelian Hills, all spurs of the table-land abutting on the river; the isolated Janiculum on the western side of the Tiber; and the lesser Pincian and Aventine Hills to the north and south of the main group. The valleys between these hills were swampy and often flooded in spite of the great drainage sewers (*cloacae*) that emptied into the river.

The Tiber, which formed the chief defence against Etruscan attacks, was a swift and turbulent stream, discoloured with the mud that it carried down from the mountains. This mud formed dangerous shoals at the river-mouth and for a long time prevented Ostia from becoming as important as the more distant Puteoli, the chief port of Rome. The Tiber



gave easy access to the mountains of the interior on the one side and to the coast on the other; yet Rome was far enough from the estuary to be safe from attacks from the sea. When the network of military roads was complete (the *Via Latina*, *Appia*, *Flaminia*, and others less important) the strategic position of Rome was unrivalled in the whole of Italy.

In order to get some idea of the City of Rome, let us go back in imagination to Caesar's day and walk through the ancient streets filled with the crowds and noisy with the

bustle of the metropolis of the world. At that time the population was about half a million—many times greater than that of the earliest days.

It may well be supposed that the wall built by Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome (578–535 B.C.), embraced a good deal of open space where refugees from outside might encamp with their possessions in time of war. When wars broke out, the country-folk would come in with

> . . . droves of mules and asses,
> Laden with skins of wine,
> And endless flocks of sheep and goats,
> And endless herds of kine,
> And endless trains of wagons
> That creaked beneath the weight
> Of corn-sacks and of household goods.

But by the first century B.C. all the space inside the wall was filled up and already buildings were being erected outside. The working classes were crowded together in great tenement blocks, for only the wealthiest could afford separate houses. Space was valuable, and the streets were often mere alleys, so Julius Caesar made a law that no vehicles should use the streets in the day-time. We can picture ancient Rome an overcrowded city of narrow lanes with overhanging houses, not unlike the oldest parts of London.

We will begin our imaginary tour from the Janiculum Hill on the right bank of the Tiber. Here was the earliest fortress, to guard the city from possible attacks by the Etruscans from the north. The road we follow runs down the slope towards the Pons Aemilius by which we cross the Tiber. On our left, upstream, we can see a ship-like island in the river, on which stands the earliest hospital in Rome, dedicated to Aesculapius, the god of healing. To the right is the open mouth of

the Cloaca Maxima, the main sewer which drains away the water from the low-lying parts of the city. Beside it is the ancient wooden bridge, the Pons Sublicius, which Ancus Martius built. When Lars Porsena came with his Etruscan armies in 508 B.C. to help Tarquin the Proud to regain the throne, the Janiculum was taken by storm, as Macaulay tells in *The Lay of Horatius*. Straight towards the Pons Sublicius swept down the Etruscans, and only by the felling of the bridge could the city be saved. Then Horatius with two companions, Lartius and Herminius, guarded the bridge while the citizens hewed down its piles with axes. Just as the bridge fell, Lartius and Herminius leapt back to safety, but Horatius stayed too long. It seemed that he must perish; but, having commended his life to Father Tiber, he plunged into the muddy yellow river, and swam ashore.

We leave the bridges behind us and enter the city, noticing the splendid buildings on the Palatine Hill in front. We first reach the Forum Boarium, the cattle market, where we are reminded that the earliest Romans were workers on the soil. From the market-place we turn to the left along the once marshy hollow of Velabrum, leading directly to the Forum Romanum, at the foot of the Capitoline Hill. Long since this Forum has ceased to be what its name suggests—a market-place; it is now the centre of the city's life, where bankers and money-lenders have taken the place of shopkeepers.

In the Forum we can realize that we are in the heart of the chief city in the world. All around us rise famous structures with the very history of Rome built into their walls. There, on the north-west side, is the Temple of Concord, begun in 367 B.C. to mark the end of the struggle between Patricians and Plebeians. Above it is the Tabularium,[1] where all the public records are kept; and on the south side the Temple

[1] The lower parts of this building still exist.

of Saturn, where the treasure of the city is stored. Not far away, and facing down the Via Sacra, is the Rostra. This is a public platform, whence orators address the crowd, and it takes its name from the beaks of ships with which it is adorned. These had been captured by Maenius in the Latin

A ship-like island in the river
The *Isola Tiberina* in the middle of the Tiber

Wars and they remained as a lasting trophy of the early struggles of Rome. (In our day it has become the custom to commemorate our victories with captured guns.)

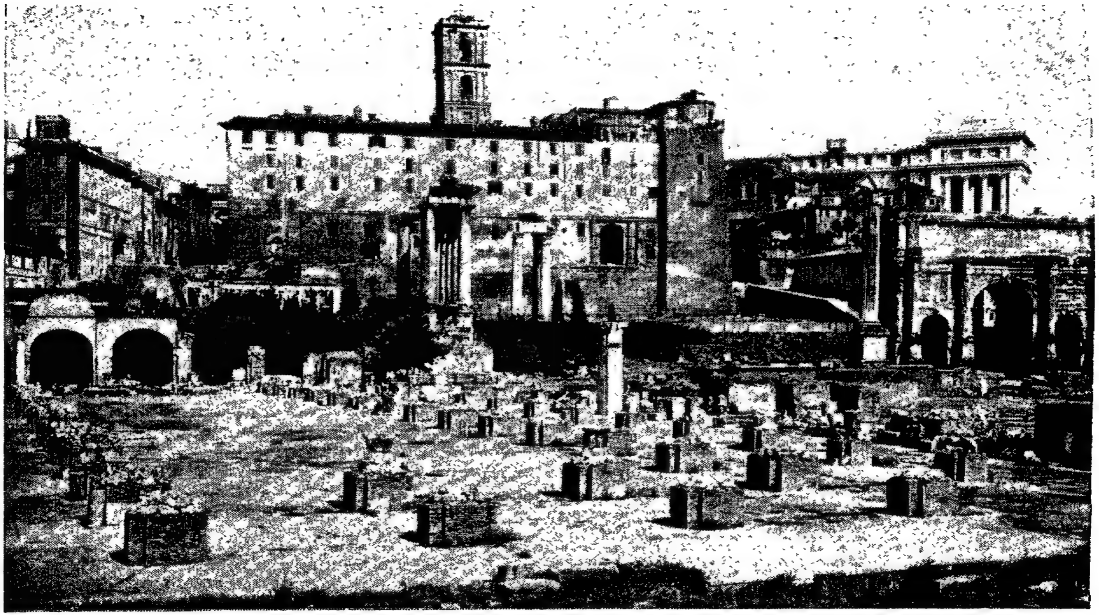
Formerly, till Julius Caesar moved them, the Rostra stood on the north-eastern side of the Forum below the Comitium. In the very early days of the city this was marked out and reserved as a consecrated place of assembly for the citizens. Hard by, on the north side of the Forum, is the Curia where the Senate meets.

On other sides of the Forum there are great halls, called *basilicae*, in which various kinds of public business are transacted. They are simply roofed halls divided into aisles by rows of columns. At one end there is a raised platform from which the magistrate administers justice. They serve as courts of justice, exchanges for merchants, and places of meeting for the people at large.

The oldest basilica in the Forum is the Basilica Porcia, built by Cato in 184 B.C., on the western side of the Comitium. On the north side of the Forum stands the Basilica Aemilia, which has been rebuilt in Julius Caesar's time. But the greatest of the three is the Basilica Julia on the south side of the Forum, adjoining the Temple of Saturn. This was known at one time as the Basilica Sempronia, but as Julius Caesar began its rebuilding on a larger scale, it now bears his name. We approach its stately portico by a flight of steps leading from the level of the Forum, and enter a magnificent central hall. It is paved with multicoloured marble, and an arcade of pillars bears a gallery with windows above. At the far end we can see a series of compartments (*tabernae*) used for business purposes. These are the chief *basilicae* at the end of this first century B.C., but in the Imperial age there will be several other and greater ones built to meet the growing needs of public business.

The Forum we see is not yet adorned with the columns, statues, and triumphal arches which later Emperors will set up. Round about us there are seething crowds who jostle their way noisily as they go about their business or wait idly for something to happen—a speech from the Rostra, the opening of a trial in the law-courts near by, or a religious procession down the Sacred Way.

We will leave behind us the crowds of the Forum and climb the Capitoline Hill. At the northern end is the citadel which



IN THE FORUM

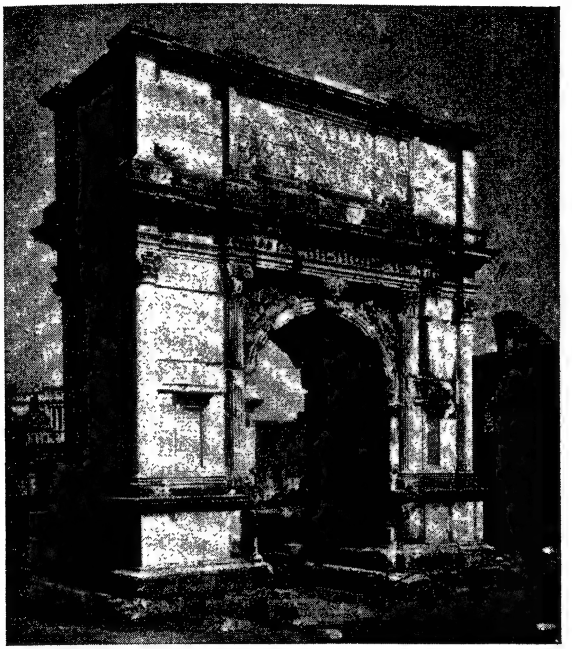
The ruins of the Basilica Julia as they are to-day. The tall building in the background is the Palazzo Senatorio, built on the site of the Tabularium. The tall pillars in front are the ruins of the Temple of Saturn

held out so stubbornly against the Gauls in 390 B.C. The besiegers tried one night to take the fort by surprise after climbing the cliff-like hill under cover of darkness; but the sacred geese, kept there for sacrifices, gave the alarm in time and the attack failed. At the other end of the summit of this hill is the great Temple of Jupiter, chief of the gods, who is worshipped here together with Juno and Minerva. It is the largest temple in Rome.

Outside, to the south, the hill descends by a steep cliff known as the Tarpeian Rock (see p. 149). The name commemorates the fate of the unhappy Vestal, Tarpeia, who betrayed the citadel to the Sabines in the legendary days of Rome. It is said that Tarpeia met the Sabine captain, Titus Tatius, at the fountain where she went at sunset to draw water, and that she coveted the gold bracelet on the warrior's arm. He gave it to her, and promised that she should have all that his men wore on their left arms if she would open the gates of the fortress to them. She consented, but when she let in the enemy that night, Tatius struck her down with the shield that he bore on his left arm, and, in fulfilment of his promise, as his men passed in they threw down their shields on the traitor's body. Having taken the fortress, the Sabines buried Tarpeia under the rock that bears her name.

From the Capitoline Hill we look out north-westwards beyond the walls to the Campus Martius, the great open space in a bend of the Tiber, used for military exercises. This 'Field of Mars' was once public land, and it reminds us of the open spaces adjoining the later cities of London and Paris; in the one we find St. Martin's Fields, in the other the Champs-Élysées. In the two modern cities the open spaces have long vanished; and as we look out on the Campus Martius we can see that already buildings are encroaching upon it. The largest that we see is the Circus

Flaminius, which has stood there since the end of the wars with Carthage. There is also Pompey's Theatre, and later on there will be other great public buildings—the Baths of



A triumphal arch set up in Rome by the Emperor Titus. The Marble Arch in London is an imitation of the Roman type

Nero and Agrippa, and the Pantheon, a burial-place for the Emperors.

We now make our way back to the Forum and thence down the uneven, crooked Via Sacra, lined with the oldest and most honoured temples in Rome. On our right we pass first the Temple of Castor, and then the spring of Juturna. Macaulay has told how the twin-brother gods, Castor and

Pollux, fought for the Romans in the battle of Lake Regillus against the Latins: then, when the victory was won,

On rode they to the Forum,
While laurel-boughs and flowers,
From house-tops and from windows
Fell on their crests in showers.
When they drew nigh to Vesta,
They vaulted down amain,
And washed their horses in the well
That springs by Vesta's fane.

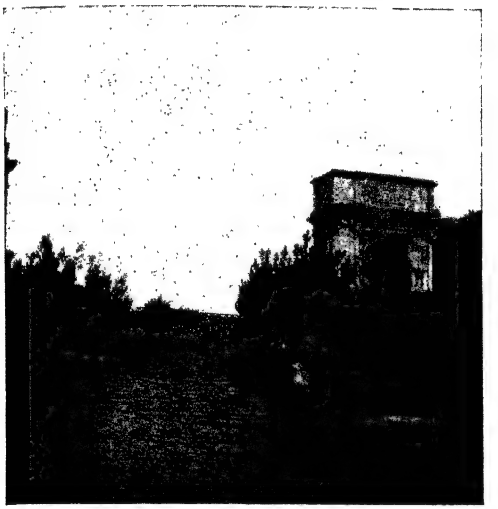
Leaving the Temple of Castor and this spring that is still held in reverence, we reach the Temple of Vesta and the house where her priestesses, the Vestal Virgins, live together as in a convent. These virgins tend the never-dying fire which symbolizes the life of the city. Opposite the temple and in the middle of the Sacred Way stands the Regia, once the royal palace but now the residence of the Pontifex Maximus. Other temples will be crowded into this short street of less than half a mile which is indeed the holiest ground in Rome.

We reach the eastern end of the Sacred Way and turn to the right. Before continuing we can obtain a general view of the Quirinal, Esquiline, and Caelian Hills that sweep in a semicircle round the eastern side of the city: while just before us is the place where the huge Flavian Amphitheatre (better known as the Colosseum) will be built.

All this time, as we walk, we have had the Palatine Hill on our right. This was the site of the first settlement from which the city grew, and here are many relics, including the hut of Romulus, which is connected with the early legendary days. In the course of time this hill has become the most fashionable quarter of the city, and here the Emperors will build their palaces.

We now proceed along the hollow between the Palatine

and Caelian Hills, till we reach the Porta Capena. Here the Appian Way leaves the city, cleaving its straight route right through the countryside to the hilly district of Samnium which defied Rome so long. Along this straight, tree-bordered road we can see the tombs of famous Romans.



The *Via Sacra* leading up to the Capitol

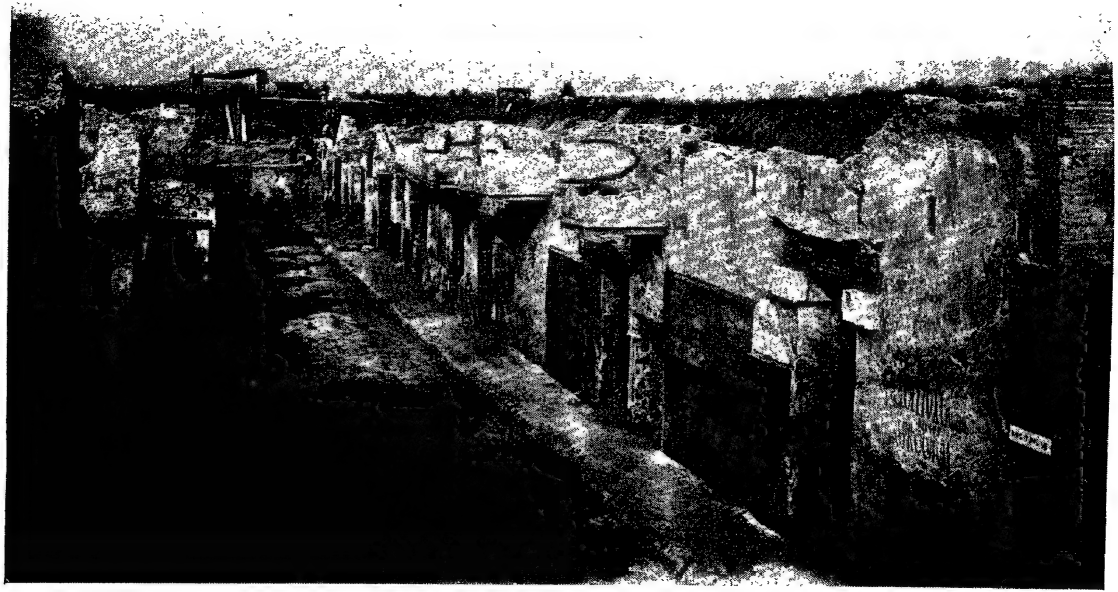
But we shall not go outside the city yet. Let us turn our steps back instead to the huge building on our left, the Circus Maximus. It stands between the Palatine and Aventine Hills. Here chariot-races take place for the amusement of the idle mob in the city who cannot or will not work. As we turn the eastern corner of the Circus, at the foot of the Aventine, we see before us, on the right, the cattle market where we started our walk.

In such a tour as that sketched out above, the oldest and most famous parts of Rome would have been visited, but little would be seen of those parts of the city where the ordinary people dwell. Like those of modern London, the inhabitants of ancient Rome lived on the outskirts away from the busy heart of the city. The residential quarters were on certain of the hills. The patricians lived on the Palatine; wealthy plebeians had splendid mansions on the Quirinal. On the other hills, the Esquiline, Caelian, and Aventine, which formed a semicircular border round the middle of the city, the working classes had their dwellings. The poorest were to be found in the unhealthy hollows between the hills. In these districts were very large tenement-buildings, called *insulae* because they were whole blocks surrounded by streets as 'islands' are surrounded by water. These tenements were usually of three or four storeys, the ground floor being occupied by shops (*tabernae*) with open fronts to the street, and in these many families were herded together in great discomfort. They were often rickety tumble-down buildings, the upper parts of wood, top-heavy and liable to collapse. They were usually in disrepair and often on fire.

III

ROMAN HOUSES IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

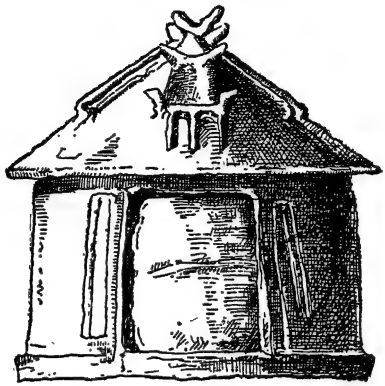
It was said of Augustus Caesar that he found Rome made of brick and rebuilt it in marble. Though this statement may have something of exaggeration, it is none the less true that Rome grew up in a somewhat haphazard fashion and not according to any particular plan. We have seen already that the majority of the ordinary people lived in great tenement



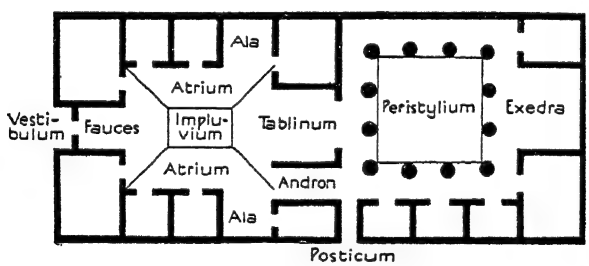
EXCAVATIONS IN PROGRESS AT POMPEII

Part of the street of the Roman town has been laid bare, and digging is going on at the end, where the present level of the surrounding earth can be seen, about 18 ft. above the street level

buildings and that only the fairly well-to-do had houses of their own. By the first century B.C., Greek influences had brought many changes in the plan and arrangement of Roman



A burial urn made in the form of a one-roomed wooden hut. This urn (made of brown earthenware) was found in a prehistoric cemetery at Rome



A typical Pompeian house

houses, so that they were very different from the houses of an earlier day. Our knowledge is derived from the ruins that have been dug out at Pompeii and Ostia, and also on the Palatine Hill in Rome.

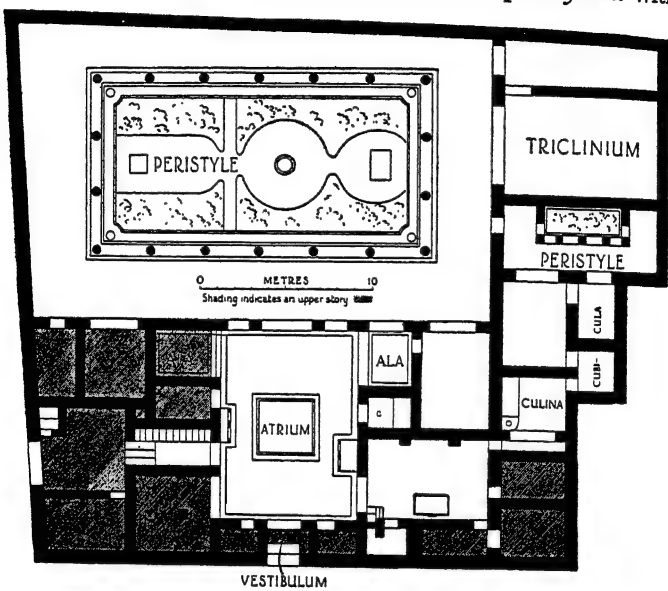
These show us the latest forms of the houses of the wealthy,

but the earlier houses were much simpler. The simplest was just a one-roomed hut, with a hole in the middle of the roof to let out smoke and admit light. We know pretty well what these early houses looked like because burial urns were made like them and some of these have been found.

As the Romans became wealthier and more civilized they had better houses. But they still kept the idea of the hut with a hole in the roof, for the next type of house was merely an elaboration of the primitive hut. There was one chief room, the *atrium*, round which were grouped a few small and comparatively unimportant apartments. The *atrium* was so called because its rafters were black (*ater*) with smoke from the family fire that was lighted there. The life of the family, in all its different aspects, was centred in the *atrium*. It was the living-room, where the work (such as spinning and weaving) was done, and where the family ate their meals. The master of the house kept his money-chest there, fastened to the floor. Here, too, were the Penates, the gods that guarded the material goods of the house, and the Lararium, the shrine of the family gods. But perhaps the most striking feature of the *atrium* was the square hole in the middle of the roof, which sloped inwards so that rain-water drained into a tank in the floor below: this was simply a survival from the hut of early times. Beyond the *atrium* at the back of the house there was a small garden; and sometimes a small open shop (*taberna*) would be found on each side of the street-entrance. At Pompeii the so-called House of the Surgeon gives a good example of a typical Roman house.

When Greek ideas were copied in Rome, houses became larger and more elaborate. The most important change was the addition of a whole new section, comprising an open courtyard (*peristylium*), bordered on two or more sides with columns, and surrounded with additional rooms. The *peri-*

stylium and the adjoining rooms came to be the private part of the house. Meals were eaten in the *tablinum* that lay between the *atrium* and the newer parts, and the family gods and shrines were moved out of the *atrium*, which was now used as the chief reception-room, while the *peristylium* with



Ground-plan of the House of the Vettii

its adjoining apartments was reserved for private and family use. We may note in passing that the new portions bore the Greek name *peristylium*, while the original rooms had Latin names (e.g. *atrium*, *tablinum*, *ala*).

Since the Roman houses were as varied in type as those of to-day, it is difficult to find and describe a standard form of Roman house. We shall gain a clearer impression of a typical house by reconstructing in imagination one of the Pompeian houses that have been dug out from the volcanic ash and lava

that buried them during the great eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. At Pompeii, it is true, Greek influences were very strong; but the town was a favourite resort of wealthy Romans, and no doubt their houses at Rome were similar to those at Pompeii.

Let us visit the house of the Vettii, a wealthy family owning many vineyards in the neighbourhood and having large interests in the wine trade. The house is not particularly large, but it owes its fame to the series of wall-paintings with which it is adorned. It stands in a quiet part of Pompeii, approached by a rather narrow cobbled street. The bareness of the outer wall gives no hint of the magnificent interior. The rooms are mostly lighted from the inside, but some houses opening on the main streets had spacious balconies and large windows on the first floor.

We step from the street into a lofty entrance-porch. Before us is a massive pair of heavy folding-doors, but these are opened only in the morning when the crowd of visitors and clients is collecting. We will enter by a smaller side-door and pass through a lobby into the principal *atrium* (for this house is rather unusual in having two *atria*, as we shall see).

This first *atrium* is a magnificent reception-room, having a floor of mosaic, and containing several fine wall-paintings. It is extremely lofty. In summer it is shady and cool, but in winter it is less pleasant since there are no means of heating it except by braziers of charcoal. There is very little furniture in the *atrium*—simply a few carved benches and a ceremonial bed to remind us that the *atrium* was at one time the chief living-room. Curtains divide the small side-rooms from the main apartment. The massive beams of the ceiling slope downwards towards the middle to the large square opening that supplies the light. Below the opening there is a tank

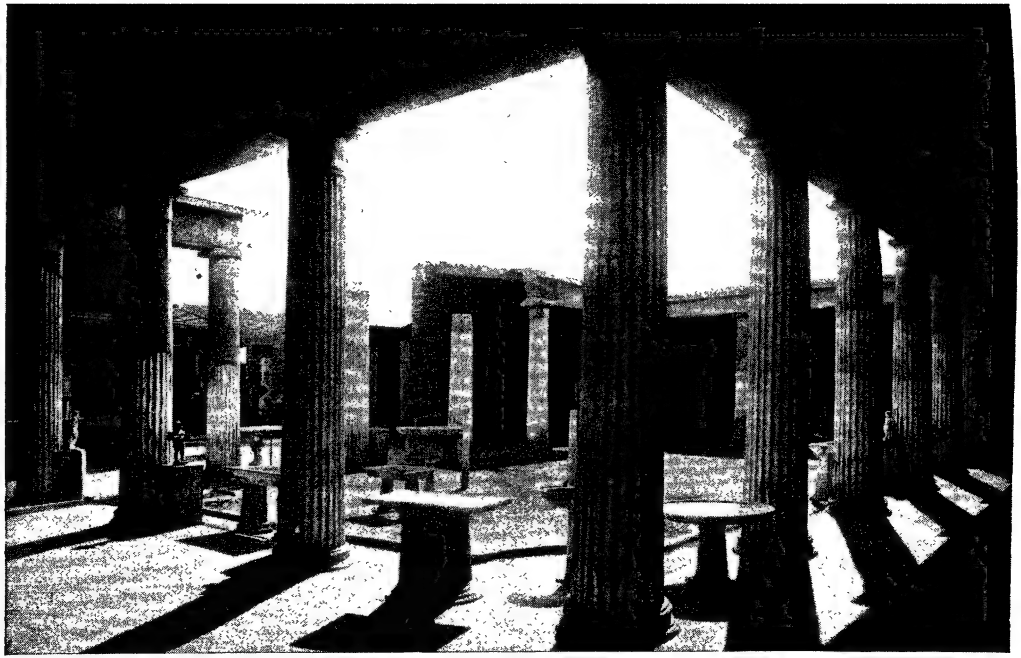
sunk in the floor to catch the rain-water from the roof. Against the wall on each side of this tank there is a finely carved money-chest on a pedestal.

Passing through the *atrium* we reach the spacious outer courtyard. There is a covered verandah, supported on columns, round all four sides of the courtyard—a pleasant garden-plot, bright with flowers and shrubs, adorned with marble busts on pillars, and furnished with four round marble tables. At each corner and in the middle of the sides there is the tinkling sound of water falling from fountains into marble basins. Some of the fountains are of marble, but two are of bronze in the shape of a boy holding a duck from whose beak the water flows.

Let us now cross the courtyard to the main dining-room at the opposite corner. It is one of the most famous rooms in Pompeii on account of its wall-paintings. The owners of the house are not ashamed of the trade that has given them their wealth, and the most interesting pictures in this room are those showing Cupids busy with all kinds of trade and ordinary labour such as gardening, selling flowers, pressing olives for oil, goldsmiths' work, and wine-selling.

Leaving this beautiful room we pass into the main court-yard once more in order to reach the smaller garden-court that opens from it. This is obviously the one used only by the family, for there are bedrooms and a smaller dining-room adjoining it.

There are still the rooms opening from the main *atrium* for us to visit. The domestic quarters are all grouped in the north-east front corner of the house round a second small *atrium*. This is of the usual type and devoted to family use. Here we find the *lararium*, the shrine of the household gods. This also is beautifully painted. The picture shows the genius



The inner courtyard (*peristylium*) of the House of the Vettii at Pompeii. Against the second column from the left, in the photograph, can be seen one of the bronze fountains of a boy holding a duck

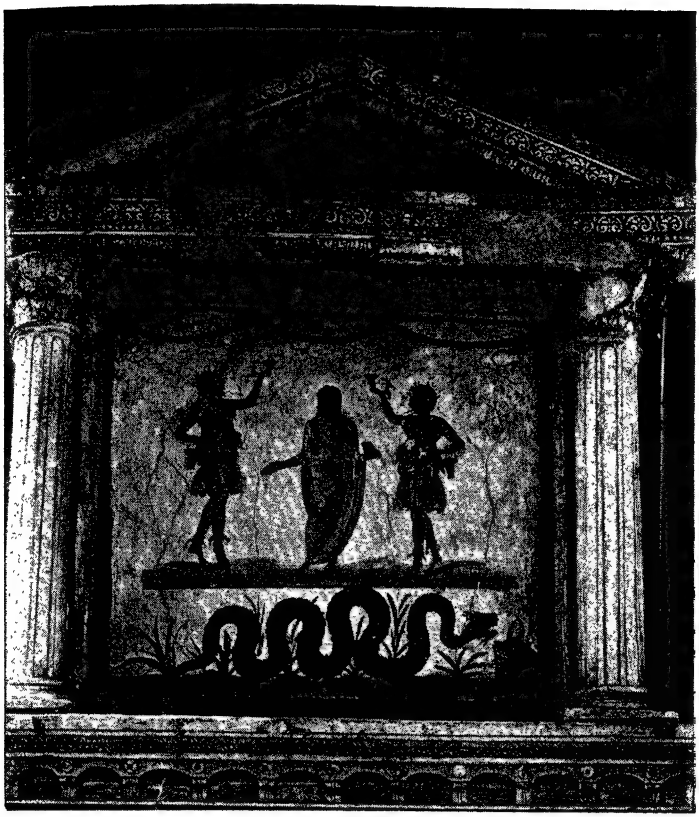
of the master of the house holding the box of incense and the libation dish with which the religious ceremonies of the household are carried out. On each side of him is the figure of a Lar (household god), in an attitude of dancing, and holding a drinking-horn. Below the figures is the serpent that is depicted on all such altars. See illustration, p. 39.

One of the wall-paintings in the *triclinium* of the House of the Vettii, representing cupids as wine-sellers. On the left is a customer, to whom the wine-merchant is handing a sample of wine

Crossing the chief *atrium* once more, we find on the southern side a corridor that leads to a door in a side-street, and also to the staircase that takes us to several small rooms forming a second storey along the whole front of the house. These would be used for various private purposes, sometimes as extra dining-rooms, sometimes as store-rooms, and one of them, perhaps, as a schoolroom.

The houses at Ostia may have been more typically Roman. At Pompeii there was plenty of space for building, so houses could be spread out over a large area rather than built upwards to a great height. But at Ostia, as at Rome, the amount of space for building was limited, and so it became the practice to build houses of several storeys, adding to the accommodation by increasing the height but not the area of the building.

Rome was a noisy bustling place and unhealthy in the summer months; so it became the fashion for rich men to



THE PAINTED ALTAR OF THE HOUSEHOLD GODS

have country houses within easy reach of the city. For instance, Cicero, though not very well-to-do, at one time had six country houses in various places near Rome. They were luxurious and beautiful mansions, as we can tell from pictures

of them that still exist and from the detailed descriptions to be found in the letters of Cicero and other writings. These country houses often served as convenient stopping-places when a rich man was travelling. He would arrange the stages of his journey so as to spend the night at a friend's house, though for ordinary travellers there were taverns like those that have been brought to light at Ostia and Pompeii.

Though such country houses (known as *villae urbanae*) were largely modelled, as their name suggests, on the town houses of the rich, there was one noticeable difference between the two. The *peristylium* was the most important part of the country house, as all the pictures show. Sometimes, indeed, there was no *atrium* at all; and even if there were it was usually behind the garden court and kept for private use.

In addition to the rooms found in a town house, there were many others added to a *villa urbana* to suit the tastes of the owner. There would be a picture gallery in some houses; in others a library, like that of Lucullus, where Cicero used to study when staying at one of his villas near by. There would be hot-air baths, and sometimes a swimming-tank. Outside there were gardens, arbours, and fish-ponds; and colonnades to relieve the flatness of the blank outside walls. Usually the villas were built in positions commanding fine views, for the Romans as a whole had a great love for the beauties of nature.

Besides the country houses of wealthy city men, there were the farmsteads known as *villae rusticae*. One of the best known is that at Boscoreale, near Pompeii, which consisted of a house of the usual kind together with the farm buildings a little distance away. As the plan shows, these covered a rectangular space, with a large threshing-floor, paved with pounded tiles, projecting at the south-eastern end. Practically

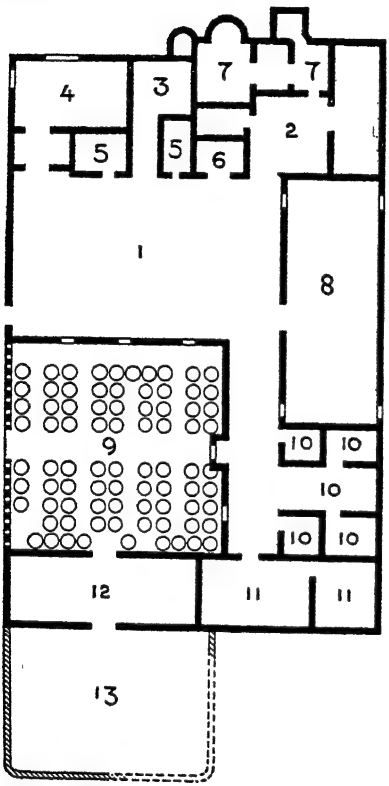
in the middle, on the western side was an entrance courtyard, surrounded by a colonnade that supported an upper storey. This courtyard gave access to the various buildings. At the

A ROMAN HOUSE AT OSTIA

An imaginary restoration, based on the ruins existing there to-day. It is a four-storeyed tenement-house, the ground floor occupied by shops, the upper floors by private flats

north-western end, occupying about a quarter of the whole, there were the living-rooms—a kitchen and a bakehouse; a dining-room; bedrooms and bathrooms; and a tool-house. The rest of the space was taken up with buildings needed for

the work of the farm. A good deal of room was needed for the various processes connected with the making of wine. Two large wine-presses adjoined the courtyard, and from these the



KEY

1. Entrance courtyard
2. Kitchen
3. Bakehouse
4. Dining-room
5. Bedrooms
6. Tool-house
7. Bathrooms
8. Wine-presses
9. Fermentation shed, filled with open wine vats
10. Slaves' quarters
11. Olive presses and store-rooms for oil
12. Wagon-shed
13. Threshing-floor

PLAN OF *VILLA RUSTICA* AT BOSCOREALE

wine was taken to a large open shed where it was left to ferment in great vats open to the sun and air, according to the custom of that part of Italy. In other smaller rooms there were presses for crushing olives and extracting the oil. Sleep-

ing quarters for the slaves, a wagon-shed, and the threshing-floor completed the buildings of this particular farm. Its trade was evidently in wine and olives only, for in farms where cattle were bred there used to be a second courtyard, surrounded by stables.

IV

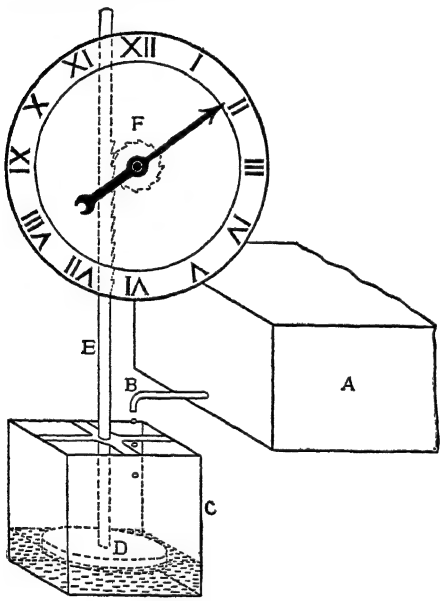
A TYPICAL DAY IN THE LIFE OF A ROMAN

PRACTICALLY all the work and recreation of a Roman had to be fitted into the hours of daylight, for the means of artificial lighting were most unsatisfactory. Small glimmering lamps illuminated the inside of buildings and the shop-fronts, but the streets were unlighted save by torches. It must be noted that the Roman hour (*hora*) was one-twelfth of the time from sunrise to sunset, and hence, though of varying length according to the time of the year—longer in summer than in winter—it was a definite space of time. Though the length of the day varied with the seasons, the number of hours (12) remained the same all the year round. (We are reminded by the parable of the labourers in the vineyard that the twelfth hour, i.e. sundown, marked the end of the day.) There were no mechanical clocks, but only sundials, hour-glasses, and water-clocks.

A ROMAN LAMP

With such a lack of reliable means of dividing and mark-

ing the time, it is difficult to imagine how the Romans could be punctual. But life was simpler then than it is to-day, and they do not seem to have felt any inconvenience. The wealthy had a round of duties and amusements to fill the intervals between meals; for, as the poet Martial said, their stomachs



From the tank A water drips at a uniform rate through the small pipe B into the reservoir C in which is the float D. From the upper surface of D rises the shaft E the teeth of which, by their movement as the shaft rises, rotate the cog-wheel F. To this cog-wheel is attached a hand the position of which, on the surface of the dial, indicates the hour

A ROMAN WATER-CLOCK

were their best clocks. The poorer citizens led a somewhat idle life; so time meant little to them. Slaves worked from before daylight till they were released from their tasks, and therefore had no need to reckon the passing of time.

We must notice first of all that the Romans rose earlier than we do. Shops were opened at sunrise; boys were on their way to school in winter while it was still dark; and often a busy man had to deal with his correspondence and other

personal affairs before daybreak, when a round of public duties would begin.

The first meal of the day would be eaten some time during the first two hours, while callers were gathering and the business of the day was beginning. This first meal was a light breakfast of the modern continental type—bread dipped in wine, or eaten with honey, olives, or cheese.

His meal finished, our well-to-do Roman would set out for the Forum, the centre of the city's commercial and business life. He would leave the house accompanied by the friends and clients who had come to pay him their respects, and no doubt would be joined by others on the way.

Clients were usually poor citizens or foreigners who had sought the protection of a more powerful citizen.

At the Forum a prominent citizen would find various duties sufficient to occupy the whole morning. There might be business in the law-courts; a sitting of the Senate to attend; a speech from the Rostra to deliver or to hear. If there was none of these, there were the crowds of citizens amongst whom lively discussions on politics or business were always to be found. Then at noon came lunch, which was a rather slighter meal than its modern equivalent.

As the Romans became more luxurious in their habits, their baths became more elaborate. At one period a swim in the Tiber had to content them; but in the course of time more and more splendid baths were built, especially by the Emperors. Seneca, writing to his friend Lucilius in the middle of the first century A.D., compares the simplicity of the 'good old days' of Cato with the luxury and self-indulgence of his own times. He mentions 'walls covered with huge, expensive mirrors, marble pilasters from Alexandria, set off by plaques of Numidian marble in between, with elaborate borders of picturesque design and variety of sub-

ject, a ceiling full of glass, silver taps and fittings, the margin of the bath made of Thasian marble'. Without all these the Romans of Seneca's day considered themselves poorly provided, though the bathing establishments made only a very small charge for admission and sometimes no charge at all.

The Stabian baths at Pompeii may be taken as typical of the baths of the later days of the Republic. In the middle there was an open court where gymnastic exercises might be taken before or after bathing. Adjoining this, on one side, there was a swimming bath. On the opposite side, in addition to waiting-rooms, there was first the undressing-room, furnished with benches, lockers, and niches, and then the *frigidarium* which contained a cold-water bath (sometimes large enough for swimming) surrounded by a tiled paving. Next there was the *tepidarium*, or warm-air room, followed by the *caldarium* which contained a hot-water bath. Originally the heat was supplied by braziers in the different rooms, but later there was a system of central heating by hot air from a single furnace.

The hot-air bath, which resembled the Turkish bath of to-day, was to be found also in the houses of the well-to-do; but in Imperial Rome every one from the Emperor downwards used the public baths.

The bath was taken about the ninth hour and it was followed by dinner, the chief meal of the day. This was more than just a meal; it was also the principal social function, to be enjoyed when the day's work was over and its duties were performed.

The meal itself consisted usually of only three courses. First came snacks of tasty food to whet the appetite; then the chief course, consisting of more solid fare, of which there would be several kinds, even as many as six or seven; and last of all, pastry and fruit. Sometimes the drinking of wine

'At the Forum a prominent citizen would find various duties sufficient to occupy the whole morning'
The 'Forum of Trajan' as it appeared in his day

was carried on after the end of the meal: this was another practice borrowed from the Greeks.

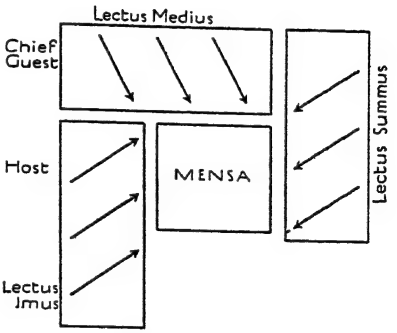
A ROMAN AT TABLE

Notice that he reclines on a couch with a small table by his side. He does not sit in a chair. His slave waits upon him

To the ordinary well-bred, educated Roman, however, the eating of food was the least important part of the function; for though there were usually only the three courses, the meal lasted often for three English hours. The time was taken up with discussions upon current events, literature,

philosophy, or politics. Cicero wrote in *De Senectute* that it had always been his way 'to measure the enjoyment of banquets as much by sociability and the delights of conversation as by their physical attractions'.

For greater comfort the guests reclined on couches (*triclinia*) at the table. The arrangement of the couches varied, but they were always placed so that conversation might be easily carried on. The accompanying sketch shows an ordinary way of placing the couches.



Walking shoes were removed on entering, sandals being worn in their place: 'to ask for one's shoes' came to be the regular expression for rising from the table. When the guests departed, their host would retire for the night.

In this outline of a typical day's occupations it will be noticed that there has been no mention of family life. The reason is that in the closing years of the Republic the family life which had been so valuable in building the character of the citizens was being undermined by public duties and outside interests. The family might meet at meal-times, especially at dinner if there were no guests; but otherwise the father of a family saw very little of his children.

The powers of the father (*paterfamilias*) were as great as those of the Old Testament patriarchs, like Abraham or Jacob. In the family circle these powers were equal to a king's, and included even the judgement of life and death.

There were reasons for this. The father was more than just the head of the family. Through him the life of the family was continued, and through him also were passed on the traditions and the personal qualities that make any family different from all others. He was the priest who attended to the family altars: he cast into the hearth-fire, sacred to Vesta, morsels of food left over from meals; he made sacrifices to the gods that guarded the household goods. It was his duty to teach his sons the religion of their forefathers; and at one time it had been the recognized thing for him to teach them the physical accomplishments (riding, swimming, wrestling, &c.) which were a part of every Roman's training. But as public life came to make more calls upon his time, the average citizen left the early training of his sons to his wife or, more usually, to slaves. This transfer of the father's duty cut at the very root of family life and went a long way to account for the decline of Roman character. Even when men like Cicero saw the danger they were powerless to prevent it; for Cicero complained that he had to leave the training of his son to other people, because, as he wrote once in a letter to his brother, at Rome 'he had no time to breathe'.

V

ROMAN DRESS

SINCE our knowledge of Roman dress is derived mainly from statues, reliefs on memorials, and remains of that kind, we shall find that pictures of monuments will make clear the main features of Roman clothes. At the outset we must remember that Italy enjoys a pleasanter and more sunny climate than our own, so that fewer garments were necessary

to them than are necessary to us. In fact, we may say that amongst the Romans the increase in the number of articles of clothing was usually the mark of a dandy. In general, the

ROMAN DRESS
A cutler in a shop with a customer

Romans did not wear hats or stockings, though when the need arose similar garments (such as the hood of a cloak and puttees) were used.

The characteristic articles of men's clothing were two in number—the *tunica* and the *toga*. The first was a woollen garment like a rather long skirt, reaching below the knees as

we can see in the picture of the cutler (p. 51). But it would be worn like this only when a man was taking his ease. Such a long garment would get in the way of a man at work; so it was ordinarily worn with a girdle or belt round the waist so that the *tunica* could be pulled up above the knees, as we see in the picture of the clothes-seller in his shop on p. 55. This picture shows that the *tunica* had short sleeves; in this respect it differed from the Greek pattern, which was usually sleeveless. Long sleeves reaching to the wrist were a mark of the dandy.

The *toga* was the distinctive garb of the Roman citizen. It was a dignified garment well in keeping with the Roman pride of race. It was not worn by workmen for the simple reason that it was so voluminous as to be a great hindrance to free movement and difficult to keep in order. Yet no Roman gentleman would think of appearing in public without his *toga*. In the picture of the tailor's shop (p. 55) we can see a customer wearing a *toga*. The same garment can be seen in greater detail in the picture of the bridegroom on p. 53. It was a strip of cloth about eighteen feet long and seven feet wide, with one curved edge and one straight edge, and was draped about the body in various ways.

Boys and men all wore the *toga*, as we can see in the picture of father and son on p. 57, but there were differences to mark the age or rank of the wearer. Boys up to the age of about sixteen years wore the *toga praetexta*, which had a purple stripe along the edge of it. This boyish garb was laid aside at the coming of manhood, when its place was taken by the plain white *toga virilis*. The *toga praetexta* was also worn by magistrates.

The *toga* was a fine dignified garment for ceremonies and for use in town, but it was unserviceable for campaigns. Then its place was taken by the military cloak called the

sagum. This was so typical of the soldier's garb that 'to put on the *sagum*' was another way of saying 'to go to the wars'.

A ROMAN BRIDEGROOM AND HIS BRIDE

Various other cloaks were worn, especially by country people, travellers, and those who were out in all weathers. Such

cloaks were usually of shaggy wool, and sometimes had a hood that could be drawn over the head in the event of rain. Usually a Roman went bare-headed. A conical hat known as a *pilleus* was sometimes worn. A white hat of this shape was the special mark of a freedman.

Turning to women's clothing we find that the Roman matron also wore a distinctive garb, the special features of which were the *stola* and the *palla*. The first took the place of the *tunica*, and was the traditional dress of a Roman lady. It reached the ground but could be raised by a girdle, worn rather high. It had sleeves reaching to the elbow. The *palla* was the feminine counterpart of the *toga*, and, like the *toga*, was the proper dress for outdoors. It was worn over the left shoulder, drawn across the back, then brought over or under the right shoulder and round the body. Sometimes the *palla*, which was generally rectangular in shape, was drawn over the head as protection from the weather: as mill-girls of to-day use their shawls for the same purpose. When it was worn in the ordinary way the *palla* left the right arm free for movement.

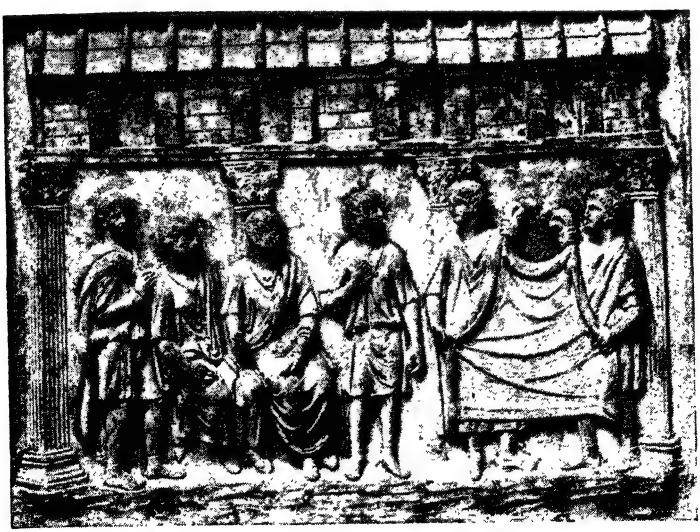
VI

ROMAN BOYHOOD AND EDUCATION

On the ninth day after his birth, a Roman boy received his name with due ceremonies, in which both the family and the household slaves took part. Those present usually made gifts to the child of tiny models of everyday objects (swords, axes, &c.), which were strung together in the form of a necklace, and served as a kind of charm.

A more powerful protection against harm was the *bulla* that was hung round the baby boy's neck, and worn till he

An example of Roman hairdressing



Romans choosing material at a cloth factory, or perhaps a tailor's shop
A large sample is held up for their inspection by two slaves

reached manhood and put on the *toga virilis*. The *bulla*[1] was simply a metal locket containing a lucky charm or mascot, made of gold or bronze, according to the parents' means. It may be compared with the lock and chain of silver which are still put round the neck of a Chinese boy to lock in his life and keep him from harm.

A Roman boy received at least three names—the *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen*. The most important was the second, which showed to which *gens* or clan the boy belonged. This name always ended in *-ius*, as Julius, Fabius, Tullius.

The *praenomen* was the equivalent of our Christian name; and just as we often use only an initial for this, so with the older Roman names an initial was commonly used for the *praenomen*, as C. for Gaius, M. for Marcus, and so on. The less common names were always written in full.

The *cognomen* was a kind of family name, to show to which branch of a *gens* a person belonged. We usually know Romans by their *cognomen* (e. g. Caesar, Cicero, Scipio), though sometimes by the English form of the *nomen* (e.g. Horace, Ovid, Vergil). Often the third name showed originally some personal or physical trait, as did our surnames like Little, Short, and many others, and historical nicknames like Richard Crookback. An additional *cognomen* was sometimes conferred on a man to commemorate a great achievement. It was often given to soldiers. For instance, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus received the last of his names on account of his successful wars in Africa. (We have seen the same thing happen in our own days. When titles were conferred on our generals and admirals at the end of the last war they were usually taken from the scenes of their most memorable actions

[1] In later times the box containing the Pope's seal was called a *bulla*, and the word was transferred to the document, the Papal Bull, to which the seal was attached.

FOUR STAGES IN THE UPBRINGING OF A ROMAN BOY

1. A baby in his mother's lap. 2. Carried by his father. 3. Aged six or seven, he drives in a small model of a chariot, drawn by a pet goat. 4. He is now at school, and is shown reciting something he has learned to his father

—e.g. Lord French of Ypres, Earl Beatty of the North Sea.) An additional *cognomen* was handed on to a man's eldest son, but he in turn could not pass it on.

As in all times and in all countries, a Roman boy spent his earliest years under his mother's care; but (in the first centuries of the Republic at any rate) the father took a share in his son's training as soon as the boy was beyond the stage of babyhood. Plutarch gives us the following delightful picture of the care that Cato bestowed on his son's upbringing. 'As soon as the dawn of intelligence began in his son, he decided to give his personal attention to his education. For, he tells us, if his son's progress happened to be slow, he had no intention of having him reprimanded, or pulled by the ear, by a servant; nor did he wish him to be indebted to a mean person for his education. So he taught him literature and law himself; and also the necessary sports, javelin-throwing, fighting hand to hand, riding, boxing, and swimming, even in rapid rivers, and the endurance of heat and cold. He also tells us that he wrote out stories for him, in large hand, to acquaint him with the romance and the traditions of his country.' In the early days, when the Romans were an agricultural people, the father would also instruct his son in the work of the farm.

At the age of seven, definite schooling began, though it is difficult to say exactly when schools were first set up in Rome. It is certain that for centuries the government thought that education was a private matter for parents to arrange. The first schoolmasters in Rome were usually Greeks. They were often freedmen who had received a certain amount of education, for slaves were by no means always illiterate (see Chap. XV). Aesop, the writer of fables, is a well-known example of an educated slave; and another is Tiro, Cicero's secretary. It is certain that the average Roman boy looked

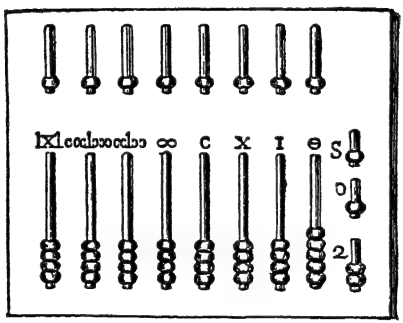
down on his teachers as being of lower class than himself. The schoolmasters enforced their authority by savage punishments. Boys were flogged for the smallest offences. Even in those days, impositions were often set. There were no special school buildings: a teacher received his pupils in a room open to the street that might have served as a shop, or sometimes in an upper room.

School began very early in the day. In winter boys were on their way thither before it was light, and the Roman poet, Juvenal, speaks of the books being blackened with smoke from the pupils' lanterns. The schoolboy ate his 'breakfast' on his way to school—usually a bun or a piece of bread, just as French schoolboys of to-day can be seen munching a roll for their breakfast as they go to school. There was an interval at midday, when the boy would go home to lunch.

To, from, and in school, and in fact at all times and in all places, a Roman boy of the better class was accompanied by a tutor (*paedagogus*), who was usually a Greek slave. The tutor was responsible to a great extent for the boy's manners and conduct, and, in addition, he gave the boy the chance of regular practice in speaking Greek. This practice was very useful, for, after the spread of Roman rule outside Italy, a man needed to know Greek as well as Latin, just as any one to-day with more than an elementary education has learned French or some other modern language.

Up to the middle of the third century B.C., practically the only subjects taught in the schools were reading, writing, and arithmetic. All calculations were done on the fingers (*digiti*)—whence our word 'digit' for numbers up to ten —or with an instrument called an *abacus*. The need for such an instrument for calculation arose from the awkward form of the Roman numerals. The illustration shows an *abacus*, though schoolboys would no doubt use a

simpler type, more like the bead-frames still used in China for ordinary counting. We can disregard the five rods at the right-hand side. They were used only for working fractions of the duodecimal type—i.e. having the denominator a multiple of twelve. The other fourteen rods on the *abacus* were for dealing with whole numbers. Thus, the rod marked I was for counting units, the next (marked X) for tens, the next for hundreds and so on up to millions, which were counted on



AN ABACUS

the extreme left-hand rod. It will be noticed that the seven longer rods to the left had only four beads, so that it was possible to count on them only as far as 4, 40, 400 . . . as the case might be. The one bead on each short rod stood for five units, tens, hundreds, and so on; and thus the process of counting was made more rapid. Even so, it was a difficult instrument to use, especially for division and multiplication. The earliest *abaci* simply had grooves in which pebbles (*calculi*) could be moved along; from this we derive our modern word 'calculate'.

Writing exercises consisted of copying numerous proverbs and moral maxims, of which more than seven hundred are still known. They were also learned by heart for repetition. Spelling was fairly easy, because Latin was pronounced as

it was spelt. This elementary education went on till a boy was about twelve years of age, when he went on to a school of a higher kind.

The more advanced schools had come into being as part of the imitation of Greek ways which changed so many of Roman ideas, from about 250 B.C. onwards. Not only was the Greek language introduced into them, but also the study of Greek literature, especially the works of Homer. The teachers in these were Greeks. They were called *grammatici*, and from them we derive the term 'grammar' as used of schools to-day.

In addition to Greek language and literature, Latin literature was also studied. The poems of Horace were used as school-texts even in his own lifetime, in the same way as the works of contemporary writers are used in our own schools to-day. The most important subject taught in the schools was rhetoric, i.e. the art of public speaking. When all free citizens had a direct share in the government and a vote, rhetoric was a very important branch of study. To be able to speak cleverly and well, to stir up people's feelings, in the law-courts or on the Rostra, was a great help to public success. Every schoolboy knows how the Roman mob was swayed by the artful oratory of Mark Antony over the dead body of Caesar. The study of public speaking was often carried on after the rest of the boy's school-days were over. For this subject, there was a special master called a *rhetor*.

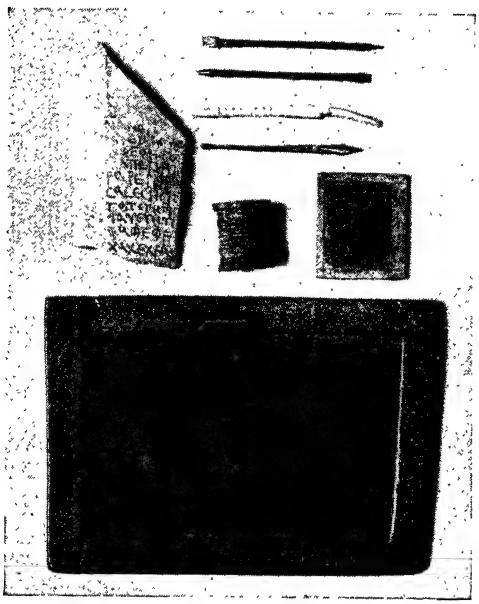
Roman schoolboys had numerous holidays. Every ninth day (the *nundinae* or market day) was a recognized holiday, as well as certain of the great religious festivals, more especially the Saturnalia in December, a time of great festivities like our Christmas holidays, and the festival of Minerva in the third week of March. In country schools, the summer months were kept as holidays, for the boys were required to

work during the gathering of the olives and the grapes. We find something similar in modern London when East End schools are closed for a week or two in the autumn while the children are away for the hop-picking; and similar 'blackberry weeks' are well known in the North. In Rome itself, the climate was so unhealthy in August and September that schools were usually closed while the pupils went away with the parents, in much the same way as the children of European residents in India go with their parents to the hill-stations at certain seasons. As the poet Martial said, it was enough in those months for a boy to learn to keep well.

The school materials were quite different from those that we use. Paper was expensive; so most written exercises were worked on wax tablets, that could be smoothed and used again and again, like the slates formerly used in some English schools. Instead of a pen, a sharp instrument (*stilus*) was used for making the letters. Later on, a boy might be allowed to use paper (made from the Egyptian papyrus plant) and ink; but even so it would be what we should call waste paper, since it had already been used on one side for some other purpose before being brought to school.

Books were in the form of rolls. At first they were made from the pith of the papyrus reed, and from the name of this (*liber*) came the Latin word for a book. Later on parchment was used. The writing—there were, of course, no printed books—was arranged in columns from the top to the bottom of the breadth of the roll. The reader held his 'book' in both hands, rolling up with his left and unrolling with his right as he read. From this action of unrolling we have our word 'volume' as applied to a book (Latin verb *volvere*). For reading, two or three columns of writing would be unrolled at one time. The rolls (if there were many of them, as in a library) were stored in pigeon-holes or in circular open boxes.

Books were copied entirely by hand, and every educated Roman kept a number of slaves whose sole duty was the copying of books. Of course, mistakes in copying were often made. Once a book had been written, any one who could get



ANCIENT WRITING MATERIALS

hold of it might make as many copies as he wished, and in this way writers had very small returns for their work.

Till the time of Augustus there were no public libraries in Rome, though just before his death Julius Caesar had made arrangements for the founding of one. Wealthy men who had private libraries often allowed scholars to use their books for purposes of study. The famous orator, Cicero, for example, had the use of the magnificent library of his wealthy patron Lucullus.

The education of a Roman boy was no more finished within the walls of the schoolroom than is the education of a boy to-day. A Roman had much to learn of politics and social affairs; so, while still a lad, he often accompanied his father to gain an idea of the work and duties that would be his in later years. He would go with his father to the Forum, the law-courts, and the Senate-house, to the temples to learn

A relief of about A.D. 150, showing a schoolmaster seated between two pupils (who hold Roman 'books' or rolls). The third boy is late, and is being scolded by his master

the religious rites, and to dinner-parties to hear the talk of men of affairs. In this way he would be well equipped to take his place as a citizen, when the time came for him to put away boyish things and take upon himself the ways of manhood.

His coming-of-age was marked by special ceremonies. It took place somewhere between the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth years of age. The exact time seems to have been fixed by the father, but it must at latest have been before the youth was liable to serve in the army, i.e. when he was seventeen years old. The ceremony

took the form of a family festival. The parents and friends of the boy accompanied him to the Forum and thence to the Capitoline Hill, where sacrifice was offered in the Temple of Jupiter. The *bulla* was left there with other boyish things, and instead of the purple-edged toga the youth now put on the *toga virilis* (from *vir*, a man) of manhood. No doubt St. Paul, himself a Roman, had this ceremony in mind when he wrote the well-known words—'when I became a man, I put away childish things'.

VII

PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS

In the earliest days the great shows given in the Roman circus were connected with religious worship. As time passed the connexion became slighter; and by the end of the Republic it became the regular custom to commemorate this or that event or person by public games. Days were definitely set aside for the games in the calendar. Under the Empire nearly half the year was taken up with these official holidays, so that in the end their number had to be limited. Not only were great public games organized by the rulers of the city, but also they were given by private individuals, often to increase their popularity amongst the citizens. These private shows were usually quite as elaborate and costly as the official entertainments.

The oldest games in the calendar were known as the *ludi magni* or *ludi Romani*. They seem first to have been held during the days of the kings, and they were commonly observed in early times to celebrate a victory of the Roman armies. As time went on, however, these games came to be held regularly every autumn, even if there were no victory to

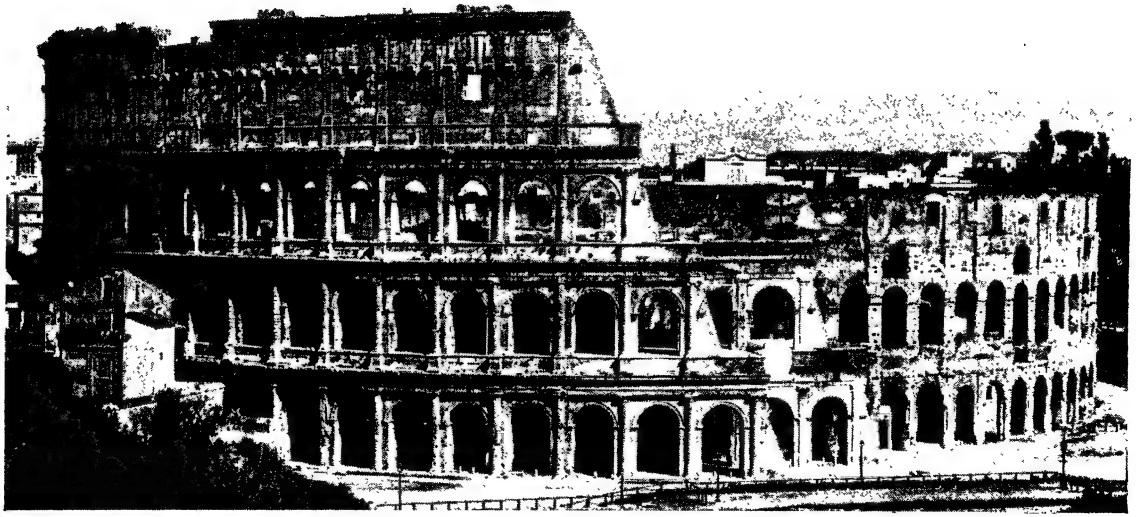
celebrate. Sulla was the first general who celebrated his victories with public games, and his example was followed by Julius Caesar, Augustus, and many of the Emperors. The military origin survived in the custom of opening these games with a procession copied from that of a triumph, described in another chapter.

The *ludi magni* were connected with the worship of Jupiter. Other games called *ludi plebeii* were also held in his honour, and there were still others in honour of rustic deities like Flora and Ceres.

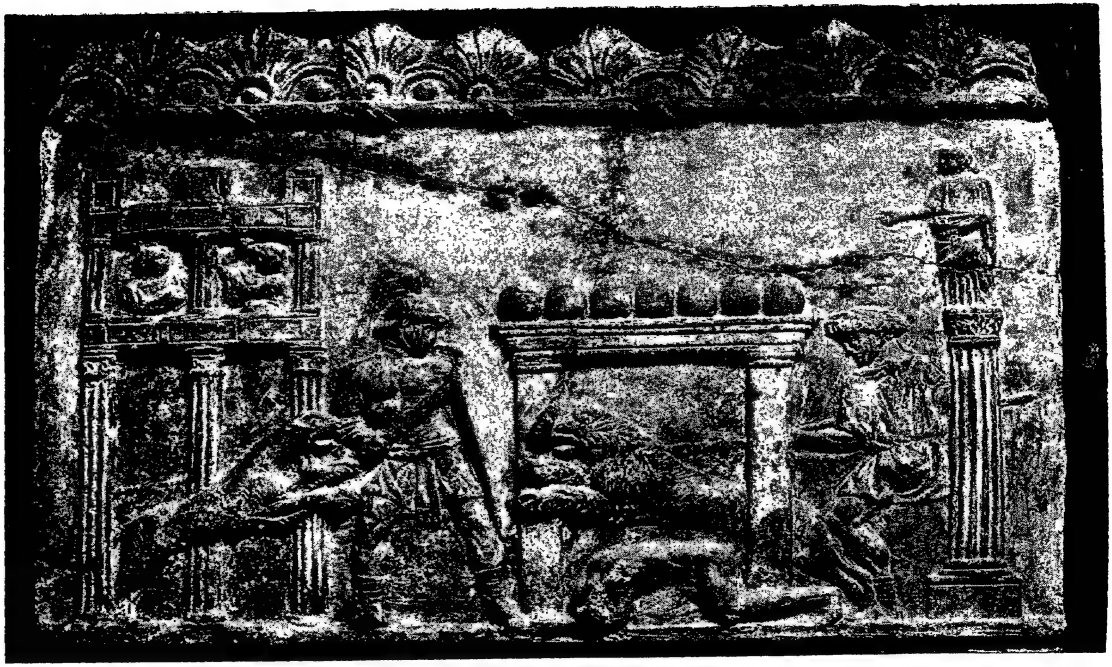
The public shows and games were very varied in character, but they may be classified in three groups—the *Ludi Circenses*, which included chariot races and all contests that took place in a circus; the *Ludi Scaenici*, or dramatic entertainments; and the *Munera Gladiatoria*, or prize-fights.

By far the most popular were the games in the circus. The *Circus Maximus* was an immense rectangle with semicircular ends, surrounded with covered seats on tiers, and furnished with special 'boxes' for the officials and magistrates. The open space in the middle was called the arena from the sand that covered it. Lengthwise along the arena, and not exactly in the middle, was a dividing barrier known as the *spina*, often consisting of a row of statues on a long marble base. At each end of the *spina* were set three conical pillars that marked the turning-points in the races. Here also were placed seven egg-shaped objects made of marble, or seven dolphins—the former being the symbols of the twins Castor and Pollux, and the latter of Neptune, all of whom were patron deities of horse-racing. One of these marble eggs or dolphins was removed each time a lap in a race was finished, for the guidance of the charioteers.

Chariot races were the most popular entertainments in the *Circus Maximus*, and those who have seen the film version



The Colosseum at Rome, in which gladiatorial shows, sham fights, great hunts of wild animals, and every sort of spectacle took place. It was possible to seat about 50,000 spectators in this enormous amphitheatre



Roman relief showing a fight in the arena between gladiators and wild beasts. At the top on the left are spectators

of *Ben Hur* can well realize how exciting these races became. There were usually seven laps in a single race, and there might be as many as twenty-four races in one day. Just as to-day in horse-racing the jockeys wear the special colours of the owners, so the charioteers in the Roman circus wore the colours of the companies for whom they worked and who contracted for the supply of charioteers. There were four companies, distinguished by the colours white, red, blue, and green. It is curious to note that these colours came to have a political meaning, and the word for the contracting companies (*factiones*) gives us our word 'faction', which means a political party.

The charioteers had to be extremely skilful, especially in turning at the ends of the *spina*, where there was always the danger of a collision when the chariots bunched together. The costume of a charioteer can be seen on page 71. It will be noticed that the ends of the reins were wound round the man's body, and he carried a sharp knife with which to cut the reins if the chariot overturned, an accident that might easily happen since the chariot was built very light. Successful charioteers earned very large sums of money, and there are records of men making fortunes that can be counted in millions of sesterces.

Before a race began the chariots and horses waited in small vaulted chambers known as *carceres*. These were provided with folding doors that were flung wide open by attendant slaves when the starting-signal was given by the presiding magistrate, who waved a white cloth for the purpose. The winning-post was marked by a broad white line in front of the magistrate's *tribunal*.

The day's racing was always preceded by a procession, from the Capitol to the Circus Maximus. At the head of the procession came the magistrate in charge of the games.

He rode in a chariot if he were a consul or a praetor, and was dressed in the style of a triumphing general. After him came his supporters, and troops of noble youths on foot and horseback. They were followed first by a host of competitors, and then by priests with incense, sacred vessels, and images of the gods. This procession made its way all round the circus and finished at the magistrate's box.

There were other shows in the circus beside horse-racing. Such were the baiting of wild beasts, and mimic hunts, when trees were planted in the arena to resemble a forest. Magistrates were always on the look-out for new thrills to please the spectators, and money was lavishly spent for that purpose. Julius Caesar brought large numbers of unfamiliar wild beasts to Rome to fight in the circus. Another form of entertainment was a mimic sea-fight, the arena being first flooded so that the ships could float.

There is less to be said about the dramatic performances, since these were largely borrowed from the Greeks and never became very popular in Rome. A play with a regular plot and a definite dialogue was called a *fabula*; more popular, however, were the farces and dumb-shows. In the farces much of the dialogue was made up on the spur of the moment, like the 'patter' of modern music-hall comedians, and depended for its success upon topical references and a spice of vulgarity to please the lower orders. The dumb-shows (*pantomimi*) were remarkable because there was no spoken dialogue in them, but the whole story or plot was unfolded by means of actions alone.

The gladiatorial shows are rightly considered as a blot on Roman civilization. In early times they were private affairs, but they came to be a popular form of public spectacle. While foreign wars were being waged there were always

slaves in abundance who could be 'butchered to make a Roman holiday'. The gladiators were nearly always foreigners, for very few Romans took up this kind of fighting as a profession.

The men were herded in great barracks while they were

A CHARIOT RACE IN THE CIRCUS

The driver on the left has just come to the turning-point, marked by the *metae*

being trained to fight against each other or against wild beasts. There were various kinds of fights between gladiators, but one of the most popular was that between the *retiarius* and the *secutor*. The former wore no armour, but carried a net (*rete*) and a dagger; the latter was fully armed. The *retiarius* or net-carrier tried to entangle his opponent in the net and so to throw him. If he failed he would have to run from the attack of his armed opponent, whose name *secutor* means literally the 'follower'. In any of these combats

when one man was at the mercy of the other, his life depended on the favour of the crowd. The victor appealed to the audience. If the defeated gladiator was popular or had put up a good fight, he might be spared; if not, the fatal sign was

TWO GLADIATORS PRACTISING
Their trainer stands behind them, giving them instruction

made by thrusting down the thumb, and the wretched victim was promptly slain. In theory the sign was given by the presiding magistrate, but he always acted in deference to the wishes of the crowd. These hideous butcheries finally came to an end when Christianity stirred the better feelings of the Romans.

VIII

MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

LIKE all nations the Romans had their special customs in connexion with the chief events of family life—birth, marriage, and death. In an earlier chapter we have traced the customs connected with childhood and youth up to the time when a man came of age and put on the *toga virilis*.

By that time he was probably engaged to be married, since betrothals might be arranged at any age above the seventh year. The Romans were a hard, unsentimental people, and their marriages were often merely legal contracts between families. Even so there were superstitions and customs connected with the actual ceremony. For example, it was thought unlucky to be married during the month of May, while June was regarded as a lucky month. It is interesting to remember that both these superstitions still survive to-day.

The details of the marriage ceremonies varied, but as time went on there was a tendency to make them more and more simple. Only for priests or those who held high office was the most elaborate ceremony used. This was called *confarreatio*, from the fact that the bride and bridegroom ate together a cake made from the grain called spelt (*far*), and it was accompanied by solemn sacrifices and the taking of auspices. The usual ceremony was that of *coemptio*, which consisted chiefly of the exchange of coins as a sign of the contract.

The customs connected with the wedding-day mainly concerned the bride. She wore a special dress and a marriage veil of yellow hue, since that colour was sacred to Hymen, the god of marriage. Her hair was parted with a spear's point before being plaited—a reminder, perhaps, of the old days when the Romans carried off the Sabine women by force of

arms to be their wives. At evening, a procession set forth to the bridegroom's house, the way being lighted by youths carrying torches. Having reached her new home, the bride was carried over the threshold by her husband, perhaps to prevent the chance of an ill-omened stumble. Next she was given the keys of the store-cupboards, and two vessels containing fire and water, to signify that she was now in charge of all household duties. Then followed the marriage-feast, and the ceremonies were over, except that on the next day the young wife offered sacrifice for the first time at the family shrine in her new home.

The Roman housewife (*matrona*) held an important position in the home. She was regarded as the wife and mother of Roman citizens, and as such she was held in greater honour than the women of any other people in ancient times, except perhaps the Spartans. She ranked as the equal of her husband, as we can see by the curious phrase used in the marriage ceremony: *ubi ego Gaius*, *tu Gaia* (where I am master, you are mistress).

In the early days of the Empire things had changed, no doubt, but Romans were able to look back to the 'good old times' when mothers had done so much in training their sons in the virtues most valued by the Romans. Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, was a noble example of the Roman matron. She trained her sons to think of the welfare of the State, so that when the elder one, Tiberius, became a man he set himself to try to put right things that were hurtful to the people as a whole. This made him unpopular and he lost his life. Cornelia, however, did nothing to turn his younger brother, Gaius, from following the same well-meaning but fatal line of action when he was old enough to continue his brother's work. Shakespeare has made for ever famous the mother of Coriolanus, the ideal Roman matron.

It was her training and her delight in his valour that made Coriolanus excel. 'The only thing that made him to love honour was the joy he saw his mother did take of him,' as we read in Plutarch. In everything Volumnia guided the thoughts and acts of Coriolanus. It was her noble influence over him that led him to make peace with his own people after he had invaded Roman territory with a Volscian army. To withdraw meant a great blow to his pride, but he did so because of his mother's patriotic influence. It was the splendid character of matrons of the earlier days that largely helped to the building up of what was best and strongest in the Roman people.

The Romans were always very careful to see that their dead received fitting burial: for they believed that otherwise the spirits (*manes*) of the dead could not gain admittance to the underworld and so would return to haunt them. So strongly did they hold this belief that if by chance a man saw the body of a stranger who had met a violent or accidental death, he would cast upon the corpse three handfuls of earth as a symbolical act lest the spirits should trouble him. And if a man were drowned at sea, the same honours would be paid to an empty tomb as at the tomb of one who had been buried with all due ceremony.

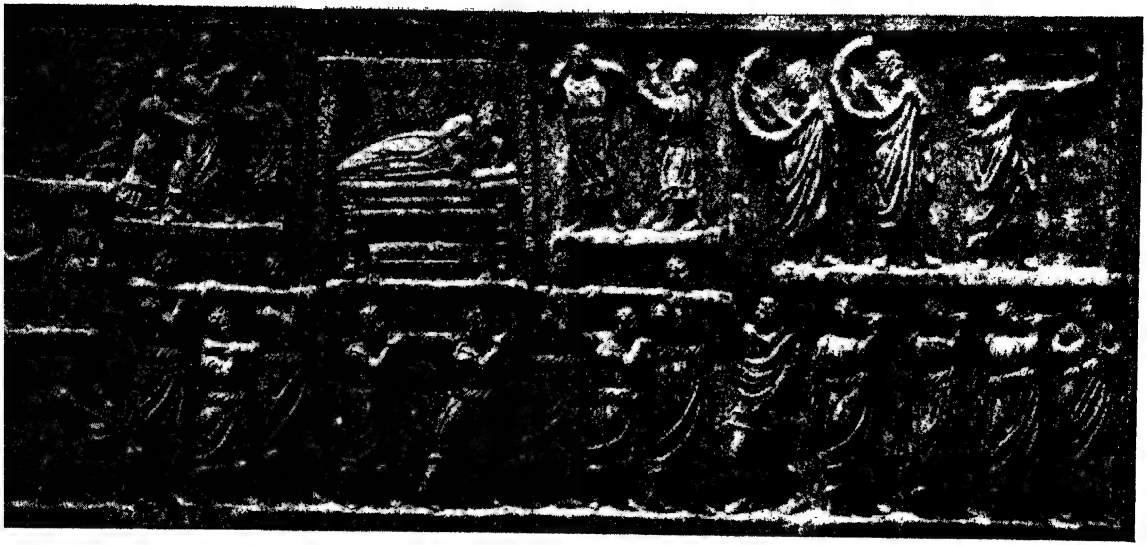
Ordinary folk were, of course, not able to arrange for the elaborate rites that went with the burial of a rich or prominent man, but nothing was omitted that could be reasonably done. People of moderate means often subscribed amongst themselves to buy a burial-place that could be used in common, to make sure of a suitable resting-place for their ashes.

When the body was prepared for burial, it was clothed in the same style as during life. Those who had borne any public office in the State or gained any honour in war were,

after their death, wrapped in the particular garment belonging to their rank and adorned with the crowns or other honours they had won. The corpse was then laid on a funeral couch in the *atrium*, with the feet towards the door—so that the spirits should know only the way out. A bough of cypress or pine was set up outside the door as a sign of mourning.

Seven days after death usually elapsed before the actual burial. During that time the ceremony of *conclamatio* took place—i.e. crying aloud the name of the dead, either to recall the soul or to reawaken its powers. When there was no response, the dead was said to be *conclamatus*, beyond recall. In early times funerals took place by night (whence undertakers were called *vespillones*, from *vesper*, the evening), but later on the morning was commonly the appointed time, especially for public funerals. As a reminder of the custom of burial by night, lighted torches were carried even by daytime in the funeral procession.

The size and composition of this procession varied, of course, according to the rank of the dead; but with all classes of people every effort was made to have the procession as imposing as possible. Apart from the mourners, there were musicians with pipes and trumpets, and men who mimicked the actions of the dead man, and even his voice and personal peculiarities. The waxen effigies of ancestors were carried out, and, at a public funeral, tableaux to represent events in the dead man's life. If he had held public office the lictors were there, carrying their rods reversed, as soldiers reverse their rifles at a military funeral to-day. There were also hired mourners, women who made loud lamentations, tearing their hair and beating their breasts, like the Jewish women whom Jesus found in the house of Jairus, weeping and wailing, as the Gospels relate. Finally came all and sundry who joined



A ROMAN FUNERAL

The body of the deceased is fully dressed and is carried on a litter borne by eight men. In front goes a band of flute (below), trumpet, and horn players. A crowd of hired mourners and relatives accompanies the body

the procession from motives of respect or curiosity: at the public funeral of a great man, vast numbers would be found in this last part of the procession. It may be noted that the same practice exists in France at the present time. Notices of a death are posted up publicly, with a general request to all friends, acquaintances, and sympathizers to join in the funeral procession, which is always on foot, as in ancient Rome; and in North Country villages of England the 'bidders' (usually relatives of the deceased) go round inviting people to the funeral. At a public funeral, the procession made its way to the Forum, where a speech was delivered from the Rostra by a relation or friend of the deceased. When Mark Antony is made to say

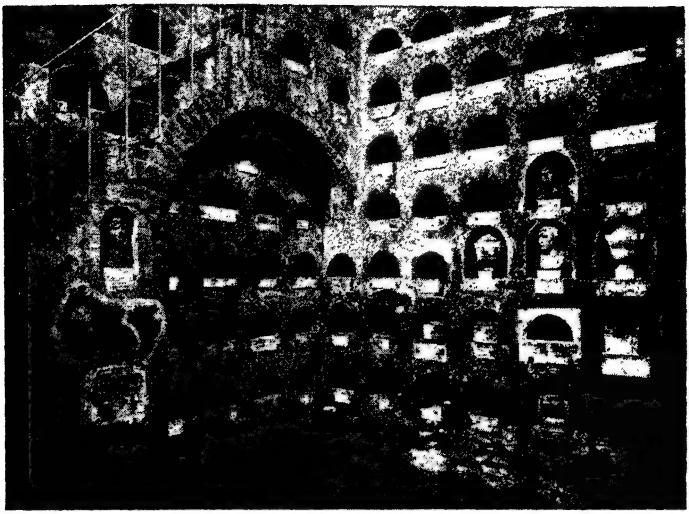
'I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him,'

the second half of the statement is no more than an orator's trick, for a speech of praise was expected upon all such occasions. (This is another Roman funeral custom that is still observed in France.) Such speeches were sometimes made in honour of women; for, as Plutarch tells us, the Senate granted them this privilege when the women of Rome gave their golden ornaments to be melted down for the gift that was sent to the temple of Delphi after the capture of Veii.

The burial-places, except those of the Vestal Virgins, were always outside the city, as in Greece and amongst the Jews; and they were usually near the public highways. Travellers to Rome can still see the ruins of great tombs along both sides of the Appian Way.

It was the custom to burn the body, and the funeral pyre, in the shape of an altar, was usually set very near the tomb. The bier on which the body lay was placed on top of the pyre, and then the nearest relation set a lighted torch to the dry resinous wood. As a mark of respect and affection, costly

offerings of garments, perfumes, and sweet-smelling essences were thrown into the flames. When the pyre had burned down, the ashes were cooled with wine and gathered into an urn which was then placed in the tomb. There were several kinds of tombs; a common type that still survives in our



A COLUMBARIUM
On the Appian Way, near Rome

churchyards is like an altar. Many tombstones have been preserved and are to be seen in most of the larger museums. Often the effigy of the dead person was carved in relief upon the stone. There is, for example, a well-known tombstone from the grave of a surgeon. He is shown reading, and above the case containing his rolls there is a case of surgical instruments indicating his profession. Sometimes the tomb was a family sepulchre, a simple building of brick or stone, in which the mortal remains of all the members of one family would be placed in urns in niches round the walls. To the present day

the same practice is observed in the island of Corsica, where there are no cemeteries, but instead mortuary chapels along the roadsides just outside every town and village. Not every Roman family had money enough to build its own sepulchre, however, and so it was a common practice for several families to combine to build a sepulchre that could be used by all of them. All round the walls inside were niches to hold the urns, with a small slab giving the dead person's name under each. From its likeness to a dove-cot, such a tomb was called a *columbarium* (from *columba*, a dove).

The memory of the dead was kept alive by certain festivals, especially the Parentalia in February. There were as well commemorative feasts. Offerings were made in the form of libations of water, wine, milk, blood, and sweet-smelling balms, poured out on or near the tomb; while flowers were scattered, and garlands were twined round the urn. The feasts were both public and private. The first were simply great banquets, accompanied often by a distribution of free food to the poorer people. They were held in honour only of the great. But all except the poorest arranged private feasts for relatives and friends, on the lines of the wakes that are still held in Ireland and Lancashire. A feast was prepared for the dead as well. On the tomb were placed dishes of beans, bread, and eggs, for the spirits to come and eat; and what was not consumed was burnt at the tomb.

IX

TRADE AND MONEY

We have already seen that at first the Romans were settlers on the land, drawing their living from the soil and counting their wealth in flocks and herds. In the early days, every family could live practically on what it produced, and any-

thing beyond bare necessities was obtained by barter. But gradually this state of things was changed, owing to the development of town life and the raising of the general standard of living with the growing wealth of Rome.

The people who drifted into the towns naturally could not produce food and other necessities of life for themselves. There developed, in consequence, a system of trading in the ordinary produce of the land between the towns and the country. More and more, too, the Romans were forced to trade with other nations. Their trade was not, like ours, concerned with manufactured goods, since every town had its own craftsmen working at their separate trades.

The destruction of Corinth and of Carthage in a single year (147–146 B.C.) removed the two greatest trade rivals that Rome had had and opened to her the markets of the whole Mediterranean. She was not slow to take advantage of her opportunity. In a very little while Rome had complete control of the profitable slave-trade that was centred in the Aegean island of Delos; and the produce of all the Mediterranean lands was gathered up to satisfy the increasing demands of Roman luxury. Nor was the enterprise of the Romans limited to the countries bordering the inland sea. It is interesting to find that the Romans made use of overland trading routes to the Far East, some of which remained in Italian control throughout the Middle Ages. We hear of silks being brought from China by way of Turkestan and the River Euphrates, and spices from Ceylon and the Malabar coast.

The two chief ports for Rome were Puteoli, on the Bay of Naples, and Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber. In Rome the earliest trading centre was along the quays near the old cattle market, the Forum Boarium. Here in very early days there was an important trade in salt, of which we are

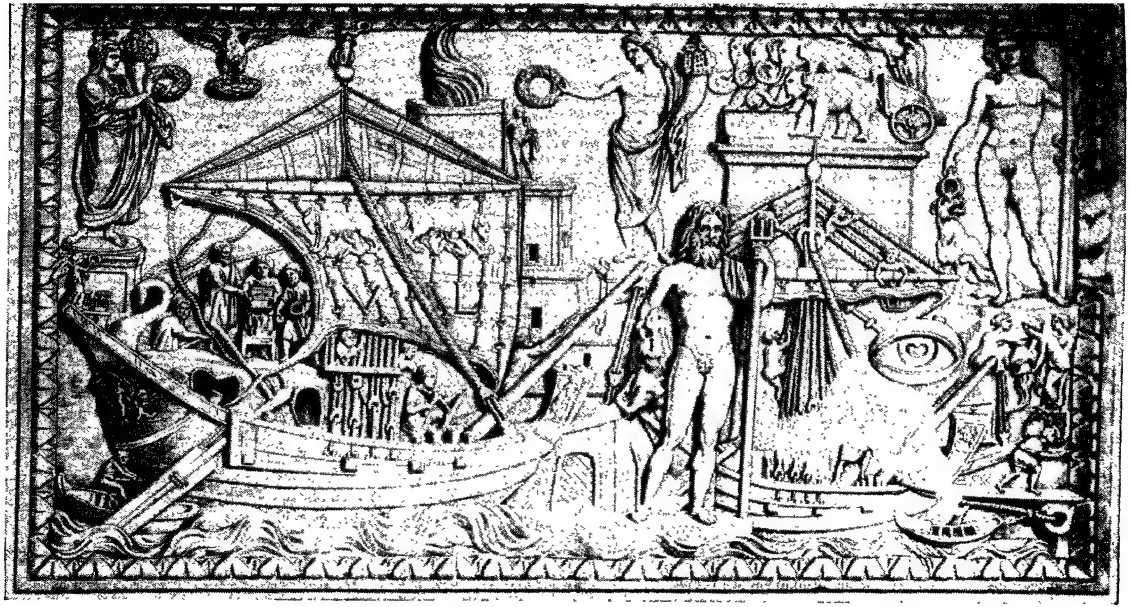
reminded by the name of the *Via Salaria* which ran from Rome to the salt-marshes near Ostia. After the reduction of Carthage and the cities of Greece, the trade of Rome became so considerable that the quays and warehouses along the river-bank were greatly enlarged to deal with the merchandise coming up the river from Ostia. The shops were cleared out of the Forum Boarium to give room for business on the lines of a modern Stock Exchange. The commercial district was known as the Emporium,[1] and all kinds of goods were brought to Rome to be stored in its warehouses. Grain from Egypt, oil and wine from Greece and Gaul, salt from Picenum, metals from Spain, and marble from Greece and Africa were the most important. It is interesting to remember that in these days we give the name *Emporium* to those huge stores where every kind of articles may be bought.

There were also markets where the ordinary shopkeepers could buy their stock-in-trade. Thus the Forum Olitorium was the market for the greengrocers. In other parts of the city there was a tendency for traders in particular wares to congregate in certain streets, as they do in modern London.

With all this varied and considerable trade there came, naturally enough, a system of coinage. There were no coins in the earliest days. People obtained what they needed by barter, and it is said that for such purposes twelve sheep were reckoned the equivalent of a cow. Certain it is that cattle were taken as the basis of exchange, and from the Latin word *pecus* (cattle) was derived the word *pecunia* for money.

The earliest form of money as such was simply a bar of copper of a standard weight, namely a pound (*libra*). From

[1] It should be noted that this name, like most of the Roman words connected with trade, was of Greek origin.



AN ITALIAN HARBOUR

A scene on a bas-relief. A large merchant ship is arriving on the left, and on the right a smaller one is unloading a cargo of wine-jars. Between them is a statue of Neptune. The sculptor probably meant to represent the harbour of Ostia

this is derived the modern French word for a pound (*la livre*). Our sign £ (=L) represents the first letter of the same word. The old idea of barter was still kept in mind by stamping the bar with the impression of a cow.

Some time about the middle of the fourth century B.C., the copper was cast in the form of a coin called an *as*, and five smaller coins were made representing fractional parts of the *as*, ranging from one-half to one-twelfth. (The smallest of these was called an *uncia*, whence we get our words 'ounce' and 'inch', also a twelfth part.) These six copper coins each bore on the obverse the head of a god (e.g. Janus on the *as* and Jupiter on the half *as*), and on the reverse the representation of the prow of a ship: so that, instead of calling 'heads or tails' (when he tossed a coin), a Roman schoolboy called *capita aut navim* (heads or ship).

The value of the *as* varied from time to time. Originally, as a lump of metal, it weighed a pound of twelve ounces, but by the time of the first war with Carthage (264 B.C.) the *as*, as a coin, weighed only two ounces. Later in the war, when things were going badly for the Romans, the weight was reduced to one ounce; and finally it was fixed by law at half an ounce. This remained the standard weight. By this time the *as* was worth so little that the expression *ad assem* was equivalent to our saying 'to the last farthing' when speaking of payments. ('Ace', the lowest card and the single 'pip' on dice, is derived from the Latin *as*.)

Silver coins were in use before the wars with Carthage. There were two values—the *sestertius*, worth 2½ *asses*, though this was not in common use; and the *denarius* worth ten *asses*. (It is from the first letter of the name of this last coin that we have the 'd' in £ s. d., but it should be noted that the *denarius*, the Roman 'penny' of the Bible, was a silver coin.) When the value of the *as* was finally fixed it was decreed that

the *sestertius* should be reckoned as worth four *asses*, and the equivalent value of the *denarius* was increased in proportion to sixteen *asses*. There were few gold coins, if any, before the time of Julius Caesar.

It is rather difficult to assign an exact value to these coins. The most that can be done is to take good specimens of the actual coins and, by weighing them and testing the quality

Heads or Ship?

A Roman bronze *as*, enlarged (true size about 1¼ in. diam.). On the left is the obverse of the coin, showing Janus's head (for Janus see chap. xvii), and on the right the reverse, the prow of a ship

of their metal, to reckon an equivalent value in modern money. In this way a *denarius* of the first century B.C. can be reckoned as worth eightpence in modern money. From this estimate the values of the rest can be calculated. It should be noted that sums of money were usually counted by *sestertii*, and so a rough and ready way of turning such amounts into modern values is simply to count the *sestertius* as being worth twopence, so that 120 *sestertii* would be approximately the same as a pound in our money.

Though it is possible to give the rough equivalent values of these coins as coins, it must be remembered that we know

but little about the purchasing value of Roman money, and what we do know about money in one part of the Empire would not necessarily apply to all parts.

X

SLAVERY

THOUGH slavery existed in Rome from the earliest times it was not till after the great wars of the third and second centuries B.C. that it became so widespread as to be a serious problem to the State. In the early days, when the Romans were a race of farmers, the members of the household (*familia*) who worked together to till the land comprised both bond and free. The bondmen had a definite position, and their lot (like that of the villeins in medieval England) was not unduly harsh.

This state of affairs was greatly changed by the successful wars of Rome. The army became a profession, and the increase of wealth and luxury led to the decay of the old-time virtues of simple living and hard work. There is a favourite story told of Cincinnatus that shows how the Romans admired the good old ways. It is said that when a Roman army was in great peril during a war with the Aequi in 458 B.C., the Senate sent for Cincinnatus to act as dictator and save the country. The messengers found the old man ploughing his fields with a team of oxen. He left the plough at the bidding of the Senate, and became dictator. In the short space of sixteen days he rescued the army from its dangerous position and, his task being accomplished, he laid down the dictatorship. He did not think it beneath his dignity to go back to work on his farm, whence he was called yet again twenty years later to be dictator a second time.

In those early days manual labour was not beneath the dignity of a Roman citizen, but in later times such work was thought undignified for the citizens of a great power like Rome. This change in outlook was brought about by the ever-increasing number of prisoners of war that provided cheap slave-labour, especially on the large country estates. The slaves were nearly always foreigners (*barbari*, non-Romans), but occasionally a Roman citizen might be condemned to be sold into slavery as the punishment for serious offences.

It is necessary to distinguish between the different types of slaves. The household slaves, especially those in the towns, were often Greeks of very good type and sometimes well educated—better educated, in fact, than their masters. They carried out many different duties, commercial and domestic; they acted as secretaries and copyists of books, and were put in charge of the sons of the family. Men carrying out such work must have been of some position and considerable education, and we may assume that, apart from their not being free, their position was little different from that of the humbler working-class citizens.

The slaves employed on the great country estates were very different from those in the town households. They were often Gauls or Spaniards by birth, wild and dangerous men, unwilling workers, who toiled in gangs like convicts, sometimes chained together, and usually locked in dungeon-like barracks by night. Those that worked on the sheep-farms of Southern Italy lived a wild life, and the fact that they were often armed for the defence of their flocks made them all the more dangerous. These slaves were in a constant state of discontent and always ready to rise in revolt. In this way they were a standing source of danger to the State, and this danger became very real on certain occasions. Thus

at the revolt of Spartacus in 72–71 B.C., for months the consular armies were defied even to the point of defeat by rebellious slaves.

The Romans thought of a slave as being in the absolute power of his owner, who might even put him to death. He was not so much a person as a thing. An injury done to a slave was regarded as a wrong done to his master; yet, on the principle that more work could be got from a willing than from an unwilling slave, owners were not in the habit of taking advantage of their powers. Still, though slaves received reasonable treatment, they were the absolute property of their master. If a slave had no name of his own, his master's name would often be given to him, with the ending *-por*, standing for *puer* (boy); e.g. the slave of Marcus would be called Marcipor. (We are reminded that native household servants in Africa are still called 'boys' though they may be full-grown men.) Slaves dressed in much the same style as the poorer free citizens, except that they might wear a badge or might be branded as the punishment for some offence.

It has been calculated that there were about 200,000 slaves at the time of Cicero. This comparatively large number was due to the successful wars that had been waged during the last two centuries B.C. Slave-dealers actually accompanied the armies to buy and sell again the prisoners of war after every battle. On one occasion Julius Caesar had 53,000 captives sold after a victory. Slave-raiding also took place, Julius Cæsar himself being carried off by pirates when a youth. The trade became so great that a regular market for slaves was established in the island of Delos, in the Aegean Sea. In Rome itself, the slaves were sold by auction, like cattle, as negroes were sold in America before slavery was abolished. As the number of slaves increased, no doubt they became cheaper to buy, and more and more slaves were used. Thus

Cato in the second century B.C. considered that only sixteen slaves were needed to work a vineyard of 100 acres; yet a century later Horace thought that every ordinary household

Manumission by the rod

A broken fragment of a bas-relief, showing a slave kneeling at the magistrate's feet, while the *lictor* (in the centre) touches him with a rod. On the left is another slave, who has just been freed, and is shaking hands with his master

needed at least ten slaves, and in most cases the number was very much larger.

Slaves might gain their freedom in various ways. Often a slave would buy his freedom out of his savings; often the master would free his slaves in gratitude for his services or other reasons. The ceremony of manumission or setting a slave free was as follows. The master went with his slave

to a magistrate and in his presence went through a curious ceremony. The slave, wearing a special white cap called the *pilleus*, knelt at the magistrate's feet, and a lictor touched him with a rod, declaring him to be free. Thereupon the master struck him with his hand, as a sign of the power he once had over the slave but was now willingly giving up. It is curious to note that the ceremony of dubbing a knight by striking him with a sword probably has its origin in this ceremony of 'manumission by the rod', as it was called.

There were less formal ways of setting a slave free. A master might write a letter giving him his freedom, or invite him to sit at table with him, or merely declare him free in the presence of a few friends.

XI

ROADS AND TRAVEL

TRAVEL in the Roman world was an easier undertaking than it was for centuries after the Roman Empire had fallen. This was due not only to the strong government that maintained the *pax Romana*, but also to the wonderful roads that were made and kept up by that government. Roads were needed by armies and officials and traders, and from the time that Appius Claudius planned in 312 B.C. the road that bore his name (the *Via Appia*), a network of great highways was made to the farthest limits of the Empire.

Roads were built on a large scale from the time of Augustus onwards, but even at the end of the Republic great main roads led to all parts of Italy and another crossed Greece from the west to Macedonia. It was the literal truth that 'all roads led to Rome', and along them the legions marched, officials went about the work of government, and traders brought merchan-

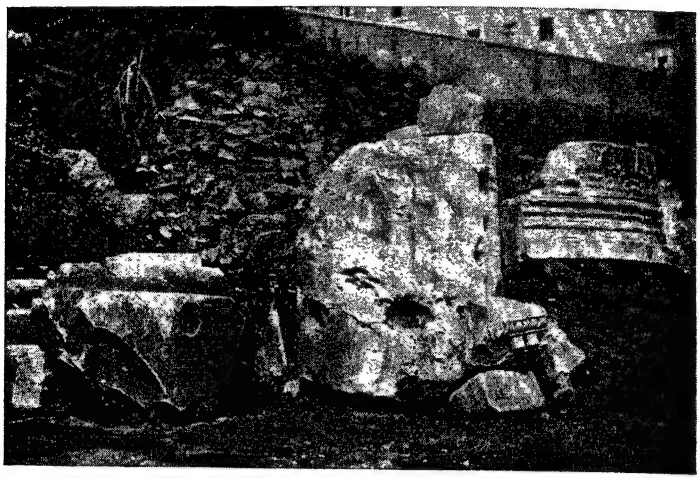
dise from the ends of the earth. It is scarcely too much to say that the Roman roads were the best lines of communication till railways came into being.

The first purpose of these roads was military. The Appian Way, for instance, was built to secure the Roman hold on Campania. As the rule of Rome spread farther, the great roads were established to make possible the work of government and defence. They were dead straight, for often the legions might need to move rapidly from one place to another. In consequence, the Romans gave little heed to natural obstacles. Their engineers were most skilful in overcoming difficulties—whether in bridging great rivers or in carrying the roadway across valleys by long viaducts. Throughout the Middle Ages the methods of Roman engineers were copied, and they are used by us to-day. The great public roads usually bore the name of the censor, consul, or emperor who caused them to be built. They were kept in repair by contractors at the expense of the government, though neighbouring landowners had to pay something towards their upkeep.

The early roads were probably earthen tracks, the surface of which was strengthened with stones. The roads typical of later times were called *viae munitae* (or *stratae*), and had a paved surface. There were usually five layers or courses in a *via munita*. The foundation was of earth rammed hard. On this were laid stones large enough to fill the hand. On top of them were smaller stones mixed with lime, covered with a layer of fine cement. The curved top layer was made of polygonal blocks of basalt or other suitable stone found in the neighbourhood. If the roads were built on a rocky foundation (e.g. parts of the Via Appia) only the two topmost layers were needed.

Milestones (*miliaria*) were a special feature of the Roman roads. These were first set up on a regular system by Caius

Gracchus, and afterwards they were erected all along the roads. They marked the distances from Rome, and sometimes from other important towns. In the Forum at Rome, Augustus set up the *Miliarium Aureum* from which the roads of Italy radiated. It was less a milestone than an indicator of distances from Rome to a number of important places.



The remains of Augustus's 'Golden milestone' (*miliarium aureum*) in the Forum at Rome

Bridges and viaducts were built where necessary, and in the south of France especially there still remain splendid specimens, almost intact after nearly 2,000 years. They were massive, like all Roman buildings, that were intended to impress by their very size. What is most remarkable about them is that they were usually made of blocks of stone so accurately cut that they held together without the use of cement, though sometimes the blocks would be clamped together with iron. The great Pont du Gard near Avignon supplies a striking reminder of the skill of Roman builders.

We can well imagine the numerous travellers that used these roads. Travel was in some respects easier and less restricted in those days than now, because the same Latin language was current all along the roads and a citizen would be under the same government though he travelled from Gaul to Greece. Many of the travellers were bent on government business—armies on the march; officials travelling in leisurely style with their retinues; embassies from subject tribes; messengers hastening with dispatches and official correspondence. Under the Empire there was a regular imperial post, with relays of horses, and post-houses for the letter-carriers. But this postal service was only for public business. All private letters were taken by couriers, employed privately. We can read in Cicero's letters how he took the opportunity of writing to friends when he heard of a trusty courier who was going their way. Learned men were amongst the crowds on the great roads, for there was more of a real commonwealth of learning when all men spoke the same tongue than in these days when there is the barrier of different languages. Well-to-do youths, like Caesar and Cicero, might be found making the 'Grand Tour' of Greece and Asia Minor in the same way as wealthy Englishmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries travelled in France and Italy to finish their education. In later days there were missionaries carrying the new Christian faith along the Roman roads, without which, humanly speaking, that faith could not have spread so quickly.

There were several kinds of conveyances in common use. In Rome itself wheeled traffic was not permitted in the daytime, and the litter was much used. This can be described as a kind of couch with a canopy and side-curtains, borne on poles by at least two carriers, and sometimes by as many as six or eight. A kind of sedan chair was sometimes used.

Outside the towns people used the *carpentum*, a light two-wheeled covered cart, drawn by two mules or Gallic horses which were specially prized for their speed. For long journeys travellers used the *raeda*, a four-wheeled carriage that could convey luggage and other personal belongings.

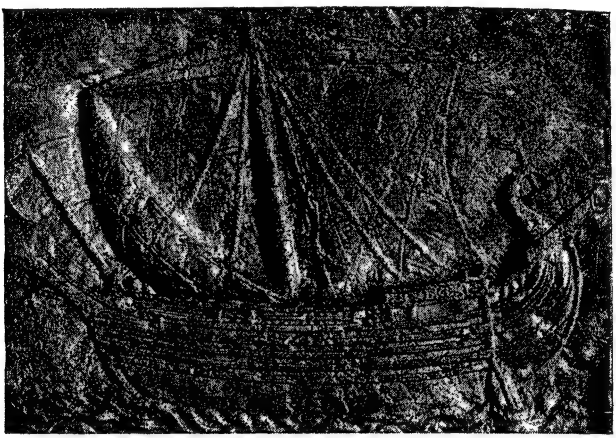
To meet the needs of these mixed crowds of travellers there were inns by the roadside. They were known by their signs as in later times—*Ad Rotam*, The Wheel (which remained throughout the Middle Ages a popular sign for hostelries); *Ad Gallum*, the Cock; or *Ad Dracones*, The Serpents. Outside Rome, on the Appian Way, there was a cluster of inns, the well-known posting station of *Tres Tabernae*, where Paul was met by friends from Rome as he approached the City (Acts xxviii. 15). These taverns, noisy, comfortless, and cheap, were used by humble travellers. There is an inscription which gives a scale of charges under the early Empire. Bread and wine cost one *as* (about $\frac{1}{2}d.$) each, and two *asses* were charged for the provender of a mule. At this rate the Good Samaritan made ample provision when he gave the inn-keeper two 'pence' (*denarii*) for the man he befriended. Wealthy men arranged the stages of their journeys so as to stay the night in the houses of friends. Cicero had six houses not far from Rome that he could use in this way. If he could not arrange for the hospitality of friends, a traveller might sleep in his carriage, which was usually large and built for comfort rather than speed. Public officials when travelling were billeted in the houses of leading families. Members of guilds or professional men might often rely on finding hospitality in the house of one of the same guild or profession.

So far we have dealt only with travel by land, chiefly because it was infinitely more popular than travel by sea. The peoples of the ancient world as a whole never fully overcame their fear of the sea. Their point of view can be seen

A Roman magistrate riding in state in a carriage drawn by two horses. Behind are four men carrying a litter (*lectica*) on their shoulders

A Roman 'coach', a covered four-wheeled vehicle drawn by a pair of horses

in the lines of Horace where he says that the first man to venture out in his frail craft must have had a heart of oak bound with triple brass. Land journeys were preferred to sea-passages, and from mid-November to the end of March there was little sea traffic; Paul's famous and disastrous journey was made after the usual season was over. There



A merchant ship in the time of the Roman empire

were no ships carrying passengers only; all seafarers had to use merchant ships for their travels. Horace tells us that all parts of the world were visited by merchant ships. A regular service of ships carried grain from Egypt to Rome. All these might be used by travellers at need. We remember that when the centurion brought Paul to Rome he took advantage of 'a ship of Alexandria sailing into Italy' which he found at Myra in Asia Minor.

During the last century of the Republic travel was not always safe. The man who fell among thieves on his way from Jerusalem to Jericho would be a familiar figure to the people who heard the parable. Brigands and robbers on land,

and pirates on the sea, took toll of travellers, as tombstones tell only too frequently, though more commonly the victims were sold into slavery. Robbers had good chances of success because people often preferred to travel by night. The danger was greatly reduced when a strong central government was set up after the Civil Wars of the first century B.C. Pompey cleared the seas of pirates in the year 67, and Augustus established military police posts to give safety on the roads.

XII

THE ROMAN CALENDAR

THE Julian calendar was one of the great gifts of Rome to the world. As its name suggests, it was devised by Julius Caesar. There had been calendars in use before his time, but they were hopelessly inaccurate and had been actually falsified so often that at the time when the reform was made in 46 B.C. the seasons were nearly two months late.

The earliest calendar, said to have been drawn up by Romulus, divided the year into ten months, the first of which was March. Thus September was actually the seventh month (Latin *septem* = seven) and December the tenth month (Latin *decem* = ten). The tradition of a ten-month year cannot be explained satisfactorily. What is certain is that the months were measured by the moon and that during the Republic the years consisted of 355 days, i.e. ten days too few.

To rectify this defect an additional month was inserted from time to time by the priests who controlled the calendar. The result was that at an early date the months ceased to correspond to the phases of the moon, and the calendar fell into confusion.

When Julius Caesar became dictator the reform of the

calendar was a matter of pressing urgency. The seasons were so far out that Cicero, writing once in May, could speak of being delayed by the equinoctial gales. These occur at the end of March, so that the calendar was about six weeks wrong. The intricate calculation needed to correct the calendar was a task after Caesar's heart, for he was well versed in mathematics and astronomy; and it says much for his genius that the alterations he made have stood the test of nearly 2,000 years, with only minor corrections.

Caesar calculated the length of the year as $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, divided into twelve months. The odd quarter of a day in the Julian reckoning was accounted for once in every four years by the addition of an extra day, as in our leap-year. Caesar put this extra day in February (as we still do), but he arranged for the repetition of the 24th day of the month. Now this, according to the Roman reckoning, was the sixth day before the Kalends of March; so the leap-year was called *Annus Bissextus* (from *bis* = twice, and *sextus* = sixth).

When Julius Caesar set about reforming the calendar, he found that the months and seasons could be brought into their correct relation only by the addition of extra days. Accordingly two additional months were put in between November and December of the year 46 B.C., giving this year a total of 445 days. This extraordinary year has been rightly named *Annus Confusionis*, but with the beginning of the new order of things on the Kalends of January, 45 B.C., the confusion was at an end for good.

It was fitting that this great reform should be commemorated by the giving of its author's name to one of the months. *Quintilis*, at one time the fifth month but now the seventh, was renamed *Julius* in Caesar's honour, and from this we derive the name July. Similarly the next month, *Sextilis*, was renamed *Augustus* (whence August) in honour of Augustus

Caesar. The first six months of the Julian year kept their original names, some of them being derived from the names of the deities to whom those months were sacred. In January (formerly the eleventh month) came the chief festival of the important god Janus; *Februarius* was the month of ceremonial purification, taking its name from *februare*, to cleanse. *Martius* was the month of Mars. *Aprilis*, connected with the verb *aperire* (to open), was the month of unfolding leaves and flowers. *Maius* was sacred to Maia, the genial goddess of summer warmth; and Juno was the deity of the month *Junius*. We have noted already that the months from September to December kept their original names, though these had lost their earlier meaning.

In each month there were three important days to which all the others were counted. These were the *Kalends* (from which we derive our word 'calendar'), *Nones*, and *Ides*, which fell on the first, fifth, and thirteenth days respectively except that

March, July, October, May
Make Nones the seventh, Ides the fifteenth day.

The calculation of the dates seems unnecessarily complicated, but it was typical of the cumbersome ways of Roman reckoning. Any given date was counted as being so many days before the Kalends, Nones, or Ides next following, and the day itself was included in the reckoning. Thus, the 24th February, to which reference has been made already, is only five days before the 1st March according to our ideas, but the Romans reckoned it as six. There is a similar idea of inclusive reckoning behind the modern French term for a fortnight—'quinze jours', literally fifteen days; and the Scottish idiom for 'a week hence'—'this day eight days'.

The Romans did not use the seven-day week, which was of Jewish origin, till after Christianity became the official

religion of the Empire. Up to that time the Roman week contained eight days—seven ordinary working days and an eighth (called *nundina*[1]) when markets were held.

The days themselves were divided into two main groups—the *Dies Fasti* and *Nefasti*; which were in turn further subdivided. The Dies Fasti took their name from *fas*, that which is binding or obligatory in a moral sense, as used in the famous motto of the Royal Engineers—'Quo Fas et Gloria Ducunt'. It will be seen that the Dies Fasti had a religious importance in the first instance. The Dies Fasti were days on which ceremonial sacrifices, religious banquets, public games, and holidays might take place. The law-courts were open, and the public assemblies of the people were held on the Dies Fasti. Hence by a transference of meaning the word 'Fasti' by itself meant a table or book of all the days of the year with their festivals indicated, after the fashion of a modern calendar.

The Dies Nefasti were the exact contrary of the Fasti. On them no public business might be transacted. They were unlucky days, being very often the anniversary of some disastrous event.

XIII

THE ROMAN ARMY: RANKS AND ORGANIZATION

For six and a half centuries of Roman history, service in the army was one of the duties of citizenship, but at the beginning of the first century B.C. a change was made so that from then military service was a means of livelihood.

In the earliest days the army consisted of three legions of

[1] See Chapter V. This word is derived from *novem dies*, 'nine days', and is another example of inclusive reckoning.

1,000 men each. The Latin word for a soldier, *miles*, is connected with *mille*, a thousand. One legion was recruited from each of the three tribes in the city, and each legion had a detachment of one hundred horse-soldiers.

Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome (578–535 B.C.), made great changes in the organization of the army. Till his reign it had been filled with patricians, but now he made all citizens liable to serve. The people were divided into five classes according to their means, the richest serving as cavalry, the next richest as heavy-armed infantry, and so on downwards to the poorest, who were used as light-armed skirmishers. The humblest of all, who were not included in any of these five classes, were called upon only in times of national peril. There were now four legions of infantry, with cavalry in addition. They fought in the solid formation known as the phalanx with a frontage of five hundred men and six ranks deep.

The phalanx was found to be a somewhat clumsy formation, and by the middle of the fourth century B.C. the legions were divided into 'maniples' (from *manipulus*, a 'handful'), arranged in three groups according to experience. At this period the legion usually contained about 4,200 men, of whom 1,200 were light-armed skirmishers drawn from the poorest classes. The skirmishers entered action first and prepared the way for the men of the first line, known as *hastati*, the young soldiers, who were armed with a spear (*hasta*) for thrusting and a sword for close fighting. If necessary, the second line, the *principes*, more experienced men, were called into action, and if by unlucky chance they were defeated there still remained the third line in reserve, the *triarii*, the oldest and most experienced fighters. This systematic formation remained up to the time of Marius, who completely reorganized the army.

The need for reorganization arose from two causes. First, the campaigns of Rome now took her armies into the farther parts of Europe, and the Near East. No longer could campaigns be finished in a single season as in the old days of wars in Italy; it was no longer possible for a man to do his period of service and then return to his farm or workshop to pick up once more his regular occupation. Secondly, the long wars, and the grievous losses that the Romans suffered both in lives and wealth, had brought about a serious decrease in the number of citizens who were liable to serve in the army under the old system.

Influenced by these two considerations, Marius threw open the army to all who were willing to serve in return for payment. There followed an immense and far-reaching change. Men now adopted the army as a profession, to which they pledged themselves for a period of fifteen to twenty years. They made their oath of allegiance to the general in person, who thereby had at his command a body of paid followers. They were entirely dependent on him and he could, if he wished, use them to further his own purposes rather than those of the State. In this power, of course, lay a great danger.

Marius changed not only the character of the army but also its organization. The old method of grouping the men according to their experience was dropped, though the names of the groups continued in use. The spear had already been replaced by the javelin as the characteristic weapon of the legionary. But perhaps the most important change was the new division of the legion into ten cohorts, each containing three maniples each of which was in turn divided into two centuries. As a century contained roughly one hundred men, a legion at full strength would number about 6,000; in actual practice, however, 5,000 was the usual number. From the

time of Marius, the cavalry was made up of foreigners, especially Spaniards and Gauls.

The commander-in-chief was known as the *imperator*. This was simply a title and did not carry any special rank. Originally the army was led by the king himself, and afterwards by the consuls or other magistrates to whom belonged the military command (*imperium*) formerly held by the king.

Each legion in Caesar's army was commanded by a *legatus*, corresponding to a lieutenant-general of to-day—i.e. he was a staff officer who acted for the general in the command of the legion. There were also six tribunes (*tribuni militum*) for each legion. They were appointed by the people as a whole and they held office for one year. A tribune was usually a young man of noble rank.

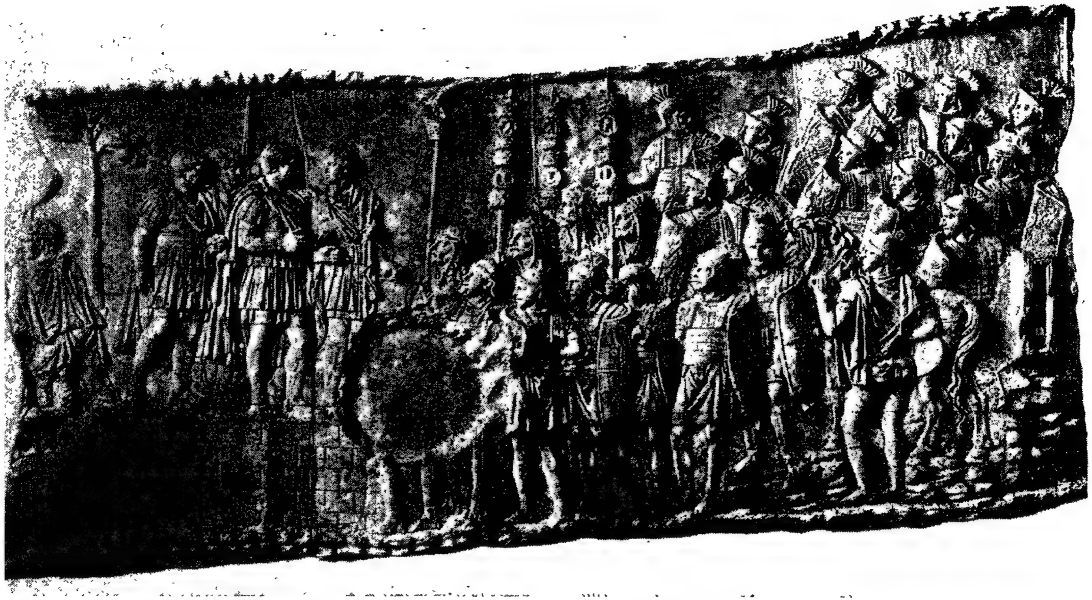
The *legatus* and the tribunes were the higher officers, of commissioned rank, but the centurions formed the backbone of the legion. There were sixty of them, six in each of the ten cohorts, and they corresponded to the sergeants of a modern army. They were not all of the same standing. In each cohort there were six grades,[1] and the centurions of the first cohort were superior to those of all the other nine cohorts. The ambition of every centurion was to reach the coveted rank of *primus pilus*, the senior centurion of the first cohort, and, therefore, of the whole legion. The system of promotions is not quite clear, but probably a centurion passed from a lower to a higher cohort, keeping the same grade in each. For example, a man holding the rank of *princeps prior* in the sixth cohort would be promoted *princeps prior* in the fifth, and so on till he came to the first cohort. Then he might go from grade to grade till he became *primus pilus*.

[1] The six grades were named from the old divisions of *hastati*, *principes*, and *pilani* (or *triarii*). They were called *pilus prior* and *posterior*, *princeps prior* and *posterior*, and *hastatus prior* and *posterior*, the adjectives referring to the front and rear ranks.

The centurions had considerable responsibility and power. Julius Caesar himself regarded his centurions as the men chiefly responsible for controlling the rank and file and for enforcing discipline. We can judge this from his calling together all the centurions after a mutiny in 58 B.C., to rebuke them for not maintaining stricter discipline. Centurions had the right of flogging their men. This was symbolized by carrying a rod which was the special mark of their rank. The brutality of the centurions became proverbial, and the soldiers complained that they had to bribe the centurions to avoid flogging. They used as well to bribe them in order to be let off fatigue duties which were allotted by the centurions. The practice became so common that the officers actually counted on the bribes as a part of their income.

The uniform of a legionary was plain and serviceable. Over a woollen tunic reaching nearly to his knees, he wore a leather doublet with the additional protection of plates of metal if he could afford them. He had a brown-coloured cloak which seems to have been adopted from the Gauls. It could be used as a blanket when required. He wore heavy hobnailed sandals, but no covering to his legs except during campaigns in cold countries like Gaul or Britain, when he might wear puttees or breeches. He was always clean-shaven and wore his hair cut very short.

When in action, he had for defence a crested helmet (first of leather and later of metal) and a leather shield (*scutum*), four feet long and two and a half feet wide, curved almost to the shape of a half cylinder. It was strengthened by a rim of metal and an iron or bronze boss in the middle. The right leg, left uncovered by the shield, was protected by a metal greave; similarly, the right shoulder was protected by a metal disc.

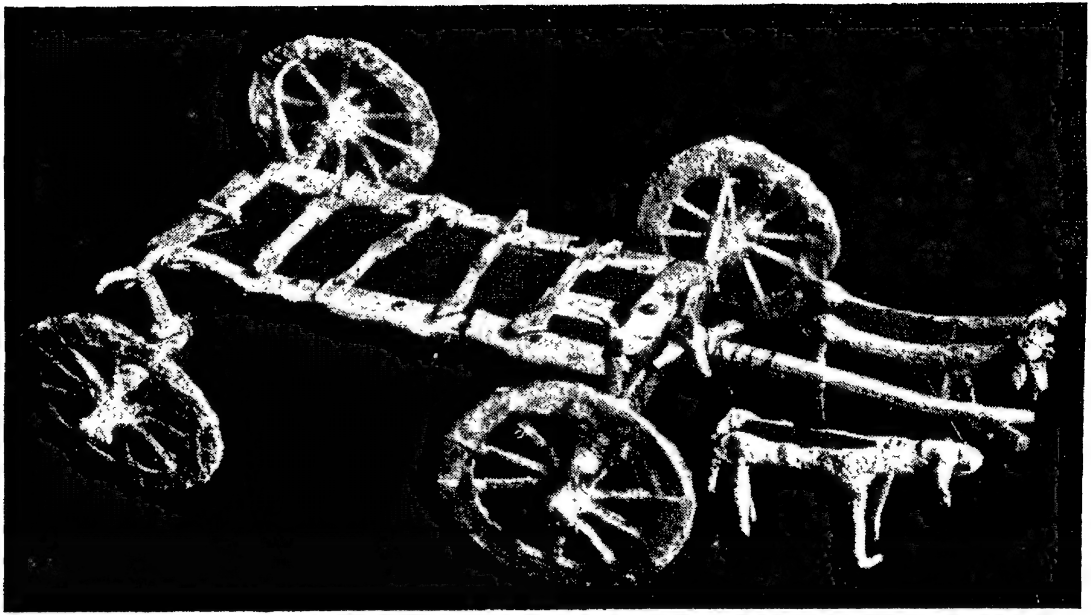


UNIFORMS OF THE ROMAN ARMY

A relief from Trajan's column at Rome representing a general addressing his troops on active service. In front are the standard bearers, behind them the legionaries, and at the back the cavalry

The legionary's weapons were a sword, a javelin, and sometimes a dagger. The sword was short and broad, about two feet in length, two-edged and suitable for hand-to-hand fighting. He carried two javelins for hurling at the enemy in a charge. They were about seven feet long, the shaft being made of wood, with a head (about 2 ft. long) of iron. There was always the danger that these javelins would be picked up and hurled back at the Romans by their enemies; so various means were employed to prevent this. Marius joined the metal point to the shaft with a wooden pin that snapped when the javelin struck, and so the head was loosened; while Julius Caesar made the head (all but the point) of soft iron that bent with the force of a blow.

The legionary had a fair amount of equipment to carry in addition to his personal weapons. It was usually made into a bundle or pack and strapped on to a wooden framework, invented by Marius, that distributed the weight evenly on the shoulders after the fashion of a modern Norwegian ruck-sack. He had to carry, in addition to his personal gear and clothing, entrenching tools and stakes for making the palisade at camp, utensils for cooking his own food, and rations for several days. The bulk of his food was wheat, which was issued to him unground. He had to grind it in his own hand-mill and make his own bread or porridge with it. This ration of grain was counted as part of his wages—he received very little actual cash. Sometimes, as a punishment, barley was issued instead of wheat. The soldiers were not given ordinary wine; their usual drink was a very sour variety, not unlike vinegar. (See St. Mark xv. 36.)

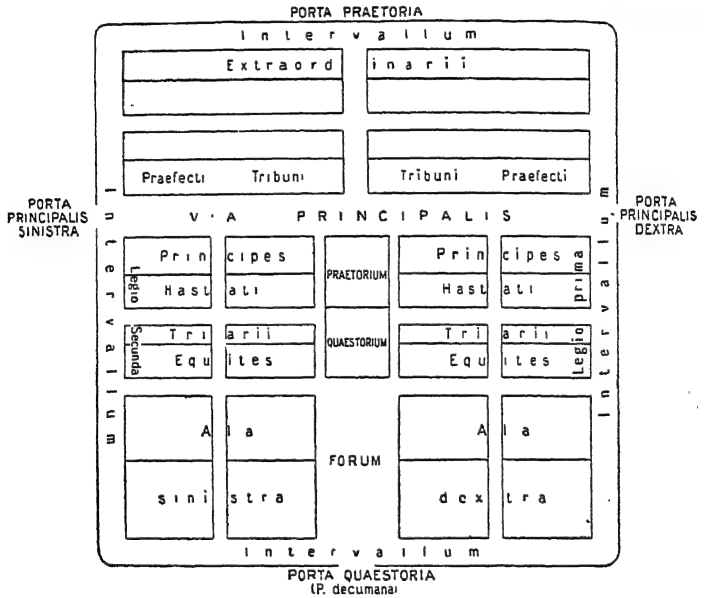


A ROMAN TRANSPORT WAGON

XIV

THE ROMAN ARMY IN THE FIELD

In the last chapter we saw something of the composition of the Roman army; let us now turn to the more important



PLAN OF A ROMAN CAMP

topic of the Roman army in the field—on the march, in camp, and engaged in battle or conducting a siege.

There were several ways in which a general might arrange his legions when on the march, the choice depending on the nature of the country through which the army was passing, the nearness of the enemy, the danger of attack, and other considerations. There was always a good deal of baggage

(*impedimenta*) to be taken, apart from the soldiers' personal equipment, and this would have to be made safe from attack. The usual arrangement was for each legion to march with its baggage-train immediately following it, protected in the rear (and sometimes on the flanks as well) by the cavalry. The ordinary line of march (*agmen*) was formed in this way, but it was not suitable if there was any immediate danger of meeting the enemy. On such an occasion, several legions went first, followed by all their baggage, with the rest of the army forming a rearguard. Sometimes, when the enemy hovered near with the intention of attacking the flanks of the army, the baggage train was protected by a column of troops on either side, making the formation a hollow square with the baggage in the middle.

When the day's march was finished, normally a distance between fifteen and twenty miles, the army encamped for the night.

A Roman camp (*castra*) was always laid out with the greatest exactness, according to some recognized plan. The one given in the accompanying diagram shows a typical camp of Julius Caesar. The labour involved must have been enormous; but the Romans had that type of genius which finds nothing too much trouble, and of all Roman generals this is perhaps most true of Julius Caesar.

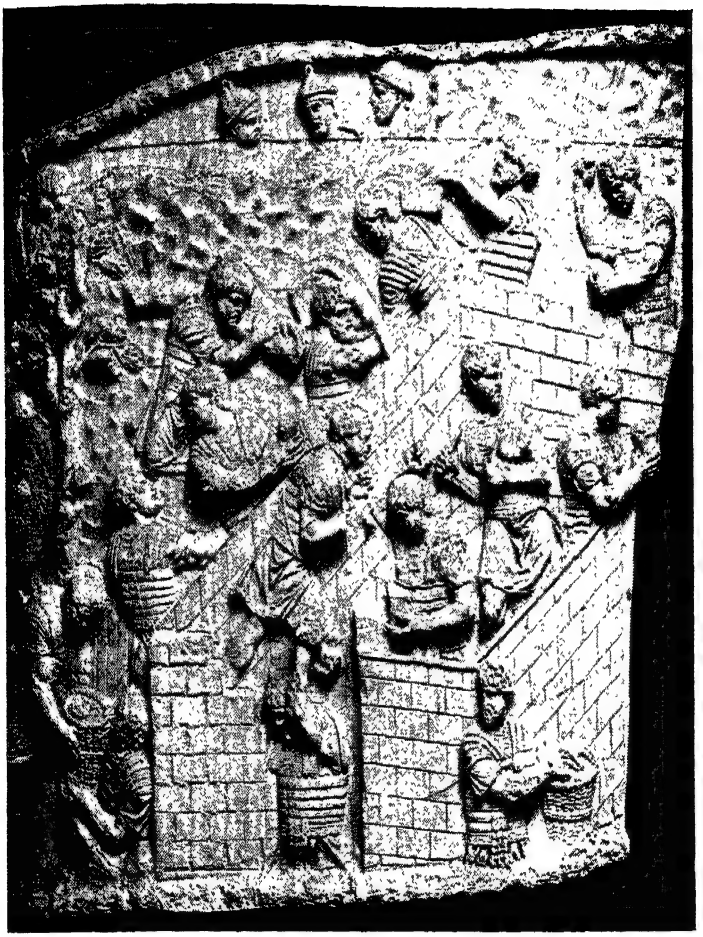
It will be seen that the camp was entirely enclosed by a ditch. The earth removed in the course of digging this was piled up to form a rampart, topped with a palisade. For making this, every legionary carried as many as seven stakes as part of his marching kit. The first point marked by the surveyors who laid out the camp was the site of the general's tent (*praetorium*) which marked the exact middle of the camp. It stood at the junction of the two main thoroughfares that crossed from north to south and from east to west.

There was a gate at the end of each thoroughfare—the main entrance being the Porta Praetoria that was used by the general, and (in theory if not always in fact) was on the eastern side of the camp.

The camp shown in the plan was constructed for two legions and their auxiliaries. Each legion was encamped by itself, one on the south and one on the north of the general's tent. The two encampments were separated by the *forum*; that was the real centre of the life of the camp. Here the general harangued his men; rewards and punishments were meted out; booty was put up for auction; and booths were set up where the soldiers might buy little extras, as in a modern canteen.

As we have seen already, the praetorium formed the general's quarters. It was much more than a mere tent: in a standing camp, indeed, it was a substantial building. In the praetorium were stored the standards and the treasury of the legions. A part of it was set aside for religious uses, especially for the taking of auspices. It contained the quarters of young aristocrats who accompanied the general on his campaigns to gain first-hand practical experience. The *quaestorium* near by formed the quarters of the paymaster, and it was used to house hostages, prisoners, and booty.

The camp was carefully guarded both by day and by night, the hours of darkness being divided into four watches. Pickets of horse and foot were placed at each gate, and sentinels drawn from the light-armed troops mounted guard on the earth-mound just inside the surrounding ditch. The watchword (*signum*) was not given by word of mouth, but was written down on wooden tablets, that were passed from man to man throughout the camp from the outer edge inwards to the tribune on duty.



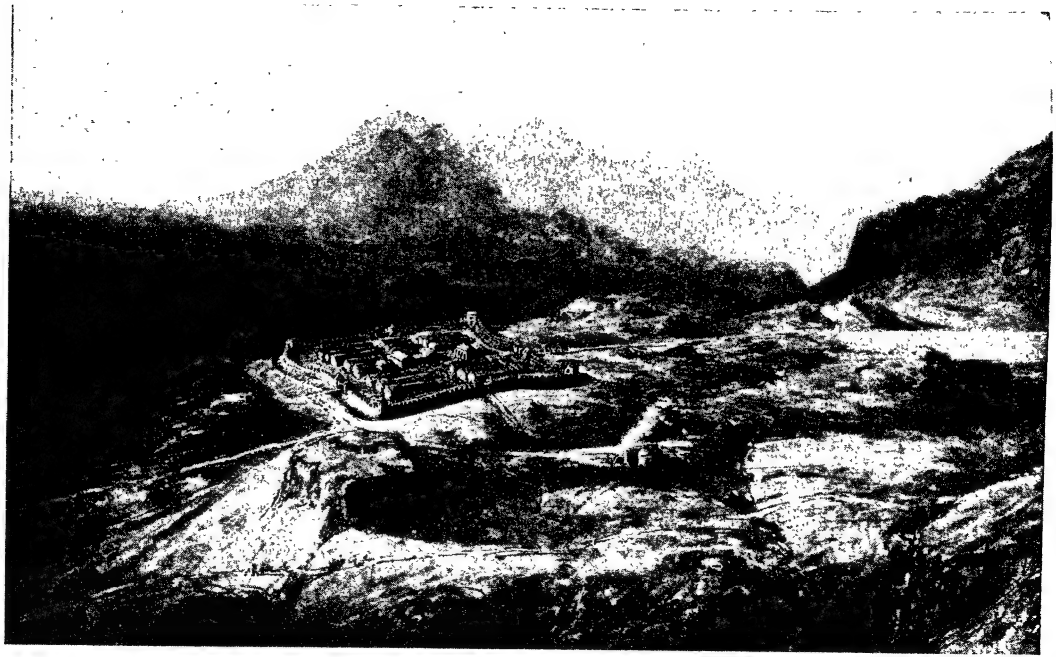
ROMAN LEGIONARY SOLDIERS BUILDING THEIR CAMP

The men who are working all have their helmets off. At the back three officers are superintending the work. On the left is a wood, and the shield of a sentry can be seen. A relief from Trajan's column at Rome

As the order of march varied to suit the circumstances of the occasion, so also the line of battle (*acies*) might be arranged in various ways. The formation used ordinarily by Julius Caesar was known as the *triplex acies*. In this, the ten cohorts of a legion were drawn up in three lines—four in the first line, three in the second line covering the spaces of the first, and three more in the last line. This last line was kept in reserve, and used only if the first two failed in their attack. The four cohorts of the front line, ranged eight deep as a general rule, charged first, hurling their javelins and then engaging the enemy in hand-to-hand fighting with their swords. If necessary the three cohorts of the second line came up to help them, passing through the spaces in the first line. Thus the two front lines shared the attack, resting by turns in order to prepare themselves for any renewal of the fray. The cavalry supported them on the flanks or did battle with the enemy's skirmishers and horsemen, though Roman cavalry did not play a prominent part in actual battles: they were of use chiefly in the pursuit of fugitives.

When a Roman general planned to take a town, he preferred to do so by assault rather than by the slower method of a blockade, and many ingenious machines were brought into use when an assault was made. Sometimes a weakly defended town might be taken by storm. Then the soldiers locked their shields together over their heads as a protection from missiles. Thus they marched to the walls of the town under a roof of shields which was called by the Romans '*testudo*'—the tortoise-shell. As the men under the 'shell' advanced others attempted to scale the walls by means of ladders.

In the capture of stronger towns very elaborate engines of war were employed. Huge earthworks were first con-



A Roman fort in the mountains of Cumberland, showing the buildings as they originally appeared. Above the fort is Scafell

structed near the walls so that the attackers might meet the defenders on the same level. There were also great wheeled towers, with staging at different heights, that were pushed close to the walls. From these darts and other missiles were hurled against the defenders within, while the walls were weakened with the blows of a battering-ram. This was sometimes just a great beam thrust against the walls by a number of strong men, and sometimes an elaborate machine like that described by Josephus, who saw it at work against the walls of Jerusalem. 'The ram is a vast long beam', he wrote, 'like the mast of a ship, strengthened at one end with a head of iron, something resembling that of a ram, whence it took its name. This is hung by the midst with ropes to another beam, which lies across a couple of posts, and hanging thus equally balanced, it is by a great number of men violently thrust forward and drawn backward, and so shakes the wall with its iron head. Nor is there any tower or wall so thick or strong, that, after the first assault of the ram, can afterwards resist its force in the repeated assaults.' Attempts were also made to dismantle the walls by wrenching stones from them with the help of great iron hooks.

Of course, the Romans had no artillery in the modern sense of the term, but they used various ingenious machines for hurling boulders and other missiles during a siege. The general name given to these machines was *tormenta*, and they were more useful for harassing the enemy than for causing great destruction. The most important were the *catapulta* for discharging darts and arrows, and the *ballista* for hurling stones or beams of timber. The schoolboy to-day shoots tiny pellets in the same way as the Romans hurled their darts against the enemy; so his little implement (really a special kind of bow) is still called a 'catapult'. The *ballista* resembled the mortar of later times. It was worked in the same way

as a *catapulta*, but the missile was given its direction by being shot along a groove set at an angle of 45° to the ground.

XV

THE ROMAN ARMY IN TRIUMPH

THE highest ambition of every Roman general was to receive the honour of a Triumph. Yet so strict were the conditions that must be fulfilled before the Senate would grant the honour, that a full Triumph was not often obtained—at least under the Republic. These were the necessary conditions: the victorious general must be either Dictator, or Consul, or Praetor (Pompey was the only exception to this rule); the victory must have been gained in person, and so completely that troops to grace the Triumph might safely be withdrawn from the conquered region; at least five thousand of the enemy must have fallen in battle; and a definite tract of new territory must have been brought under Roman rule.

A Triumph must have been one of the most magnificent of spectacles ever staged in a great city that knew how to make the most of public pageants. On the day when it was held, the whole city made holiday: the streets were decorated with garlands, the statues were adorned with flowers, and fires were lighted on every altar.

The triumphal procession entered the city from the Campus Martius, where the victorious general camped on the preceding night. No effort was spared to glorify the event. First in the long procession came the city magistrates, whose powers were for that day in the hands of the triumphant general. Then followed trumpeters, sounding as for a charge. Next came the spoils taken from the enemy, drawn on chariots or carried by hand, together with representations of

the events of the campaign, the places captured, and allegorical figures, all mounted upon stages set upon wagons, as we see *tableaux vivants* in a Lord Mayor's Show to-day. White oxen intended for sacrifice came next, adorned very richly, led by priests and followed by others bearing the sacred vessels and implements of sacrifice. After that came the captives, headed by the king of the conquered country, his children, and his chief nobles. If it chanced that the king had fallen in battle, his effigy was carried in the procession. Then followed officials of the victorious army, and musicians dancing and playing.

Next was the general himself in whose honour the whole wonderful pageant was taking place. He was drawn in a rich circular chariot by four horses, always, from the time of Julius Caesar, pure white. He was robed in purple and wore a laurel crown. In his right hand he carried a laurel branch, and in his left an ivory sceptre. Behind him stood a slave, holding above the victor's head the crown of Jupiter in the form of an oak-wreath made of gold: and sometimes, curiously enough, another slave to whisper reminders that he was but human, lest he should become too proud with the honours heaped upon him. With the general in his chariot were his children if they were very young; if they were lads who had not yet assumed the *toga virilis*, they rode on the horses that drew the chariot; if grown up they rode behind, with the *legati* and *tribuni* of the victorious army. Last of all came the soldiers, marching on foot, their javelins twined with laurel, shouting *Io triumphe* and singing songs in honour of their general.

The immense procession entered the city by a special gate, the *Porta Triumphalis*, which was used only on these occasions. On the line of route, triumphal arches were erected, at one time as occasion required but afterwards built

permanently of stone, often elaborately decorated. Some still remain, and others like them may be seen in Paris, commemorating the victories of Napoleon. The procession passed through the Circus Maximus and along the Sacred Way to the Forum, whence the general ascended the Capitoline Hill to the great Temple of Jupiter. While he mounted thither, and as an integral part of the day's events, the principal captives were put to death in a prison adjoining the Forum: it is recorded that only on four occasions were their lives spared. Upon entering the Temple of Jupiter, where the white oxen were sacrificed, the general laid his laurel branch upon the lap of the god. The sacrifices were followed by a state banquet given by the Senate, and feasts for the soldiers and citizens.

Even when the day's pageant was over, the general enjoyed further honours of victory. He still wore his laurel wreath. He received land to build a house, the entrance to which was decorated with his trophies, while his statue in a triumphant chariot was placed in the entrance hall to keep his memory green. Even after his death his triumph was not forgotten, for his ashes were allowed burial within the walls of the city.

If the Romans wished to honour a general not entitled to a full Triumph, they gave him an Ovation. This also was a procession through the streets, but shorn of the splendours of a Triumph. The general entered the city on foot, or (in later times) on horseback, clad in the ordinary toga of a magistrate. Instead of the laurel wreath, he wore one of myrtle, and he carried no sceptre. There were neither troops nor magistrates in the procession, but usually some *equites* and a throng of the humbler citizens. Music was provided by flutes, instead of by the trumpets of war. And when the procession reached the Temple of Jupiter, instead of white oxen, a sheep was sacrificed. The honour of an ovation was

granted when the enemy was not very dangerous, or when the bloodshed had not been considerable.

Awards to individual soldiers for bravery or for specially good service in the field commonly took the form of crowns; and it was a general principle that the greatest honour was attached to the crowns that were the least valuable in themselves. So to-day the Victoria Cross, in our own army the highest award for valour, is merely an inexpensive medal of bronze. Its Roman equivalent was the civic crown (*corona civica*), that was awarded to soldiers who saved the lives of Roman citizens in battle. It was made simply of oak leaves. Special honours were paid to holders of the civic crown: when they entered a public building, all those present rose to show their respect; and they had the right to sit with Senators at public entertainments. Other crowns of different designs were awarded for special kinds of distinguished service in action. Various trophies in the form of collars, bracelets, and horse-trappings were conferred when a crown was not an appropriate reward. There were many awards and they were lavishly bestowed, but the Romans aimed at encouraging valour and zeal so that cowardice and slackness might but rarely show themselves.

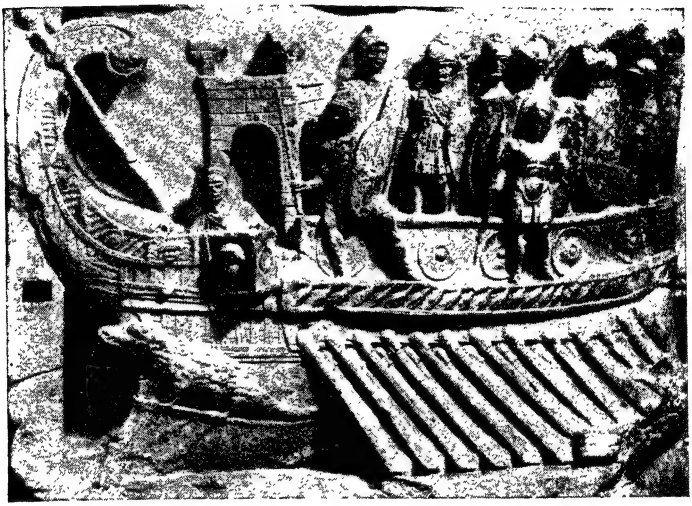
XVI

NAVAL AFFAIRS

In all the long and wonderful story of Rome, few incidents show the fine spirit of the Romans better than the building of their first fleet when war broke out with Carthage (B.C. 264). Up to that time the Romans had had very little to do with the sea; and their only vessels were clumsy merchant-

ships. Carthage, on the other hand, was the greatest naval power in the ancient world, and Rome had to prepare to meet her in naval conflict.

By a fortunate chance a Carthaginian galley was stranded on the Italian coast. The Romans took this for their model



A ROMAN BATTLESHIP
being rowed into action, with a detachment of soldiers on board

and set about building a fleet. So that there should be no delay in putting to sea when the ships were built, the crews were made to practise rowing on benches set up on dry land, in much the same way as we can practise swimming exercises out of the water to-day. With the fleet that came into being in this way the Romans were able to defeat the Carthaginians.

True, the story of the stranded Carthaginian ship is open to doubt. For a long time before the wars with Carthage the Romans had been obliged to turn their attention to the sea, in the course of their dealings with the Greeks of Southern

Italy, from whom they could always recruit trained sailors. The Romans must have been familiar with Etruscan and Greek vessels, and it is noteworthy that their earliest coins bore the prow of a ship on one side. It is quite likely that Roman historians purposely overlooked these facts in their desire to enhance the glory of their triumph over Carthage.

But the Romans did not extend their naval power—they were still afraid of the sea. It has been thought that the Romans kept no standing navy, but preferred to build ships as and when necessity arose. This was not often, for most campaigns were conducted by land; but when sea travel was necessary, as when Julius Caesar came to Britain, lack of experience often brought mishap or disaster. Those vessels they had were always hauled up on to the shore at the end of the autumn, and were not launched again till the early summer.

The general name for a warship was *navis longa*. It was comparatively narrow for its length, being designed mainly for speed, unlike the merchant ship that needed plenty of space for its cargo. The 'long-ships' were propelled by oars, and the different kinds were named biremes, triremes, quadriremes, quinqueremes, and so on (from *remus*, an oar). At one time it was thought that these names implied the number of the banks of oars on the various ships, but it is now believed that they show the number of rowers to each oar: thus, there would be three rowers to each oar on a trireme, and five on a quinquereme, the two commonest types of boat in use.

The rowers were seldom, if ever, of Roman birth. Usually they came from allied or conquered races, or were slaves who had gained their freedom. They formed the crew and were quite separate from the fighting men, who in the early days were ordinary legionaries, but later were specially recruited for service in the fleet after the manner of our Royal Marines.

The officers on each ship were the Master (*Magister*) and the steersman (*gubernator*), though sometimes one man filled both offices.

In a naval engagement, three methods of attack might be used. First, the attacker might crash its way through the oars of the enemy's ship and so leave it disabled. Or, by skilful steering, one ship might ram another with its bronze-shod 'beak' (*rostrum*), level with or below the surface of the water. If neither of these tactics succeeded, two vessels would manœuvre alongside each other. Then, when they had been linked with grappling-irons, boarding planks would be laid across from one to the other and close hand-to-hand fighting on the decks would follow.

XVII

THE RELIGION OF THE ROMANS

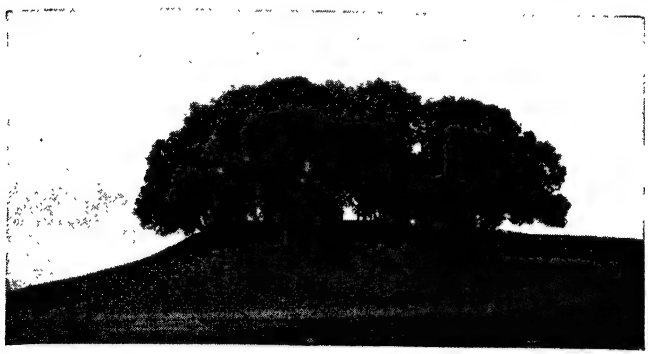
In order to understand fully the ideas that underlay the religion of the Romans, we must go back to the earliest days of the Latin settlements in Italy. The newcomers were tillers of the soil, and their daily work brought them into ceaseless struggle with the forces of Nature. There were many things that these primitive people experienced but could not explain. Floods and drought, storms and refreshing showers, untimely frosts and genial summer warmth were at work to bring them either good fortune or disaster.

In all these everyday happenings they saw the work of spirits, sometimes hurtful and at other times beneficent. At every turn they believed themselves to be surrounded by spirits (*numina*), in air, in earth and water—spirits that could help or harm them, always resenting any encroachment, always ready to smite the trespasser, yet equally ready to favour

and assist if won over by acceptable sacrifices and ceremonies. Where there was so much that could not be explained, ignorance bred superstition, which in turn gave rise to fear; so that the whole purpose of 'religion' was to secure the favour of the spirits, or to make amends to any and every deity (*numen*) that might be offended in the course of a man's everyday occupations. If a man bridged a stream, for instance, even if it were only with a plank, he must make sacrifice to the river-spirit for intruding upon his domain. In this deep-rooted belief in spirits we find the foundations of Roman religion. There was in it an element of magic, and a belief that certain acts would produce certain results that were to be desired or avoid others that were to be feared. So among the Romans there were magical ceremonies for making rain, as there are in West Africa to-day, and such ceremonies continued to be used, with certain changes, right on into the historical period of Roman history when the people had outgrown the days of magic.

Yet though the basis of the religion of the early Romans was this belief in spirits, the people had only the most shadowy notions about them. They had not enough imagination to give them a form, a physical shape. The gods remained as spirits, often merely described by an adjective indicating the qualities or dwelling of the spirit, as Silvanus, the god of the wild wood (*silva*). Sometimes the idea was carried a stage farther and it was believed that a particular spirit dwelt in a certain place or thing. Thus the god Terminus dwelt in his stone on the Capitol; Diana in her grove at Aricia, and Volturnus in the River Tiber. It is most important to remember that the early Romans had only vague ideas to work upon; for we find that they were accustomed to add various qualities to these shadowy spirits. We may take as an example the great god Jupiter who was worshipped

under many different titles: e.g. Jupiter Stator, the stayer of flight in war, or Jupiter Ruminus who fertilized the earth with rain. It must be remembered that the Romans did not attempt to represent Jupiter or their other early gods in any special physical form. Centuries later, when they came into contact with the Greeks, they discovered amongst the Greek gods and goddesses many that were counterparts of their own, and they



A grove on a hill-top near Rome, sacred in Roman times. Such groves were often looked upon by the Romans as the haunt of some special god or goddess

copied the Greeks in making images, often in human form, though in the early days their ideas had been so vague that they did not know whether to address the spirits as god or goddess.

To see the religion of the Romans at its best and purest, unchanged by contact with foreign practices and beliefs, we must go to the private religion of the family, from which the State religion developed. Family ties were very strong, and one of the strongest was the religion of the household, that centred round the things of everyday life. There was the worship of the spirit of the door, Janus (from *ianua*), who guarded the entrance to the home and looked after all who

went out or came in. Within the house there was the spirit of the hearth-fire, Vesta. Indoors there were as well the Penates, the spirits of the store-cupboard (*penus*). Very important, too, was the worship of the Genius of the family, though the underlying idea is rather difficult to understand nowadays. It was that indefinable something that makes every family different from all others. The Genius was in some way connected with the head of the family. Thus, for example, its festival was observed on the master's birthday; and when the Romans gave their deities an individual physical form, they represented the Genius in the likeness of the head of the family. The family religion also included the worship of the Lares.[1] They were probably gods of the fields before being brought indoors, for Cicero tells us they were worshipped in sight of the house. The family shrine, the *Lararium*, was set up in the atrium, showing how intimately the Lar was connected with the daily life of the family. In the early days, when life was more simple, these family deities would be worshipped by the sacrifice of a part of the meal that was thrown into the flames; in later days the images of Lares and Penates were placed upon the table to show that they had a share in the meal. Even in more luxurious times, there was a pause in every banquet while offerings were taken to the household gods. It was only natural that in the family religion the head of the family should be the priest, a fact which emphasized his importance and formed a strong bond between members of the family.

But families did not live apart. They were from very early times grouped in clans or tribes living together in country districts. Naturally they had religious rites and ceremonies that must be performed in common. These festivals were connected with the important seasons of the farmer's year—

[1] See Chapter III.

the spring-time, harvest, and winter. In early times the Roman year began in March,[1] the beginning of the Spring period of growth. There came a lull in the activity of the farm during June and July, and not till the harvest months of August and October do we find more great agricultural festivals. The winter festivals, of which the chief was the Saturnalia, were connected with the preparations for the next year's crops.

It was from the religion of the farm and the family that the Roman State religion grew up.

In the first place we must notice that some of the chief gods of the City-State had their origin in the gods of the household. There was Vesta, whose undying fire guarded by the Vestal Virgins represented the continuous life of the city as in the house it represented the life of the family. In the home the hearth fire was tended by the daughters of the household; so the Vestal Virgins, the guardians of the city fire, were regarded as something like daughters of the Pontifex Maximus, who took the place of the king at the head of the religion of the State. Janus guarded the gateways of the city as he also protected the doorway of the house. And other ideas were associated with this god. Since he watched all who went out and came in he must look both ways: hence he was represented with two heads. He was the god of all beginnings and the 'father of the morning' to whom the first prayer of the day was offered. The city also had its Lares and Penates, fulfilling on a larger scale the duties of the household gods; and in place of the Genius of the family there was the Genius of the Roman people, and of the city itself, and finally of the Emperor, who stood in the same relation to the nation as did the father to the family.

[1] See Chapter XII.

Perhaps the most interesting development was that which changed the vague spirits that watched over the affairs of men into gods with a definite form and traditional legends. The idea came first from the Etruscans, but was chiefly developed through contact with the Greeks, who had more imagination than the Romans. From very early times the Greeks had given a definite form, usually human, to the spirits which they believed were in the world around them. The Romans found that the Greeks had many deities very like their own, and as they were represented in human shapes that could be more easily understood than vague spirits, the Romans copied the Greeks and made statues of their gods.

At first Jupiter was the spirit (or *numen*) who inhabited the sky. From this it was natural that he should become the god of light (with the adjectival title of Lucetius, from *lux*), and should be worshipped at the times of full moon when there was most light both by night and day. He was also the spirit that hurled the thunderbolt; places struck by lightning were sacred to him since he moved in the lightning-flash. Yet he was still a spirit, specially connected with the sacred oak on the Capitoline Hill. When the Romans came back from their early wars bringing their spoils with them, they laid the choicest on this sacred oak; and so Jupiter became connected with successful warfare. As Jupiter Stator he stayed the rout when Roman armies were hard pressed; as Jupiter Victor he gave them triumph; in his temple on the Capitol he was the supreme head of the State, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the 'best and greatest'. 'To his temple the Roman youth will come to make his offering when he takes the dress of manhood; here the magistrates will do sacrifice before entering their year of office; here the victorious general will pass in procession with the spoils of victory; on the walls shall be suspended treaties with foreign nations and offerings sent by subject princes and

states from all quarters of the world: all that Rome is to be, will be, as it were, embodied in the sky-spirit of the sacred oak, the god of justice and of victory in war.'[1]

The same sort of process took place in the thoughts

STATUE OF A VESTAL VIRGIN

Found in the house of the Vestal Virgins in the Forum at Rome

of the Romans about their great god Mars, though here, curiously enough, it was a complete change rather than a mere development. Mars was a deity worshipped by all the tribes that settled in Latium, but at first he was in chief a god of the fields. We shall see that farmers prayed to Mars for protection of their crops and live stock, and for abundant harvest. Yet to the later Romans Mars was chiefly the grim

[1] C. Bailey.

god of war, whose sacred animal was the fierce wolf. We can trace the reason for this change if we consider the time of the chief festivals of Mars. They fall in March, the month sacred to him, and in May—both of them months of the early year, when the crops were beginning to grow and when the young men were donning their armour in readiness for the summer campaigns. And so in the beginning he was really in two ways the 'spirit of the growing year'—first, as the ally of the farmer in giving increase to his flocks and fields, and second of the warrior who goes seeking the fortunes of war. Of course, at different periods of Roman history, one or other of the sides of his nature would be the more important: in the early days when the Romans were a tribe of farmers, they would think of Mars as a god of the countryside; later on when they became a nation of soldiers they thought of him as the god of war.

As time passed many deities were adopted by the Romans and a distinction arose between the *Di indigetes*, or native gods, and the *Di novensiles*, or new gods. It was only natural that the native gods were those connected directly or indirectly with agriculture, the gods that had been at one time the *numina* of the early settlers.

The newer gods of foreign origin, the *Di novensiles*, came from various countries that the Romans conquered, but especially from Greece. Some were adopted at a very early date—e.g. Minerva, an Etruscan goddess of the arts and crafts, and Diana, who was introduced from Aricia when the Latin league was formed. When a new god was brought from Greece it was usually just a matter of identifying an already existing deity with its Greek counterpart, and assigning to it the stories that the more imaginative Greeks had woven round their more definite god or goddess. Thus we find that

Neptunus, the god of seas and streams, was the Roman counterpart of the Greek Poseidon; Mercurius, a god of trading, was identified with the Greek Hermes, the messenger of the gods. Some of the later gods, it is true, had no real counterpart in early Roman religion. The worship of Phoebus Apollo was almost purely Greek, as also was that of Aesculapius, the god of healing, since the Romans had very little knowledge of medicine. The cult of Isis was imported direct from Egypt, while in 205 B.C. a great fetish rock was brought from Phrygia to be worshipped as the Great Mother (*Magna Mater*).

With all these many and different deities, a Roman's dealings were of a very practical nature. He sought either to avoid their ill will or, more often, to enlist their active support. His prayers were for definite material blessings, and when he offered a sacrifice it was with the idea of getting some benefit in return or of avoiding some evil. Cicero himself points out that a Roman did not pray to be made virtuous, but to be made both healthy and wealthy.

One important reason for this cold attitude towards religion was the Romans' dislike of changes, and their faithful following of the practice of their forefathers (*mos maiorum*). Another reason was the control of religion by the State. It is scarcely too much to say that a man's dealings with the gods were marked out as definitely for him as were his dealings with his fellow citizens.

The close connexion of religion with the State is clearly seen in the organization of the priesthood. Here it should be noted that the priests were not usually trained specially for their duties nor did they form a class apart from other citizens. Indeed, it often happened that men who had distinguished themselves in other departments of public life were

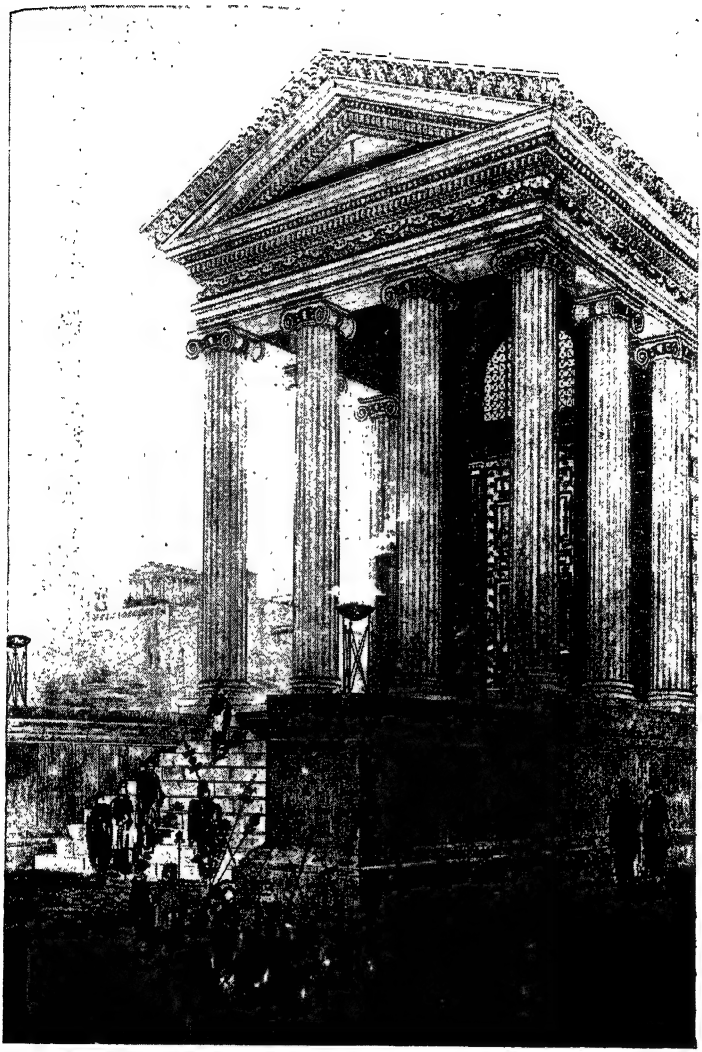
appointed to some of the highest priestly offices. Thus the Emperors took the title of Pontifex Maximus, though they did not carry out the duties belonging to the office.

In the earliest days the king presided over religion as one branch of the city's life. When the kingship was abolished and the duties of the kings were divided among a number of individuals, certain orders of priesthood (*collegia*) came into being.

The most important was that of the Pontifices, who practically controlled the State religion. They gave judgement on all religious matters; they had disciplinary powers over the lesser orders of priesthood; they laid down the rules for public worship, for all feasts and sacrifices, and regulated the calendar. In the opinion of Cicero, the honour and safety of the commonwealth, the liberty of the people, the houses and fortunes of the citizens, and even the gods themselves were all entrusted to their care, and depended entirely on their wisdom and judgement. The head of this order, the Pontifex Maximus, was one of the chief men in the city.

The second great order was that of the Augurs, who (together with the Auspices) were concerned with the interpretation of omens, i.e. the prophecy of forthcoming events by observing certain signs. There were at first three augurs, one for each tribe, but their number was increased to fifteen as time passed. Their duty was to interpret dreams and oracles, and to declare whether the omens were good or bad. The interpretations of augurs were mainly concerned with public affairs.

Auspices on the other hand were employed at every turn in connexion with the household, the farm, and the State, whenever any important enterprise was to be undertaken —whether it was a betrothal, a sowing, or a battle. The auspices might be taken by the master of the house, a magistrate,



THE STATE RELIGION OF ROME

A ceremonial procession entering a temple

or a general according to the occasion, but an augur was usually consulted to interpret the signs observed. The derivation of the word auspices (*avis*, *spicere*) shows that the chief signs observed were the actions, and especially the flight, of birds; but the Romans were superstitious and tried to read some meaning into any unusual or special occurrence, even such a thing as a flash of lightning if appearing at certain times.

The whole purpose of augury and auspices was clearly to find out in advance what was the will of the gods; it reveals another plain indication of the Romans' dread of the deities they could not understand and their desire to propitiate them and to win their goodwill and help.

XVIII

FESTIVALS AND SACRIFICES

We have already seen that the belief in nature-spirits was the basis of Roman religion. Many survivals of it can be seen in the private religion of the family. It also accounts for the special features of the great festivals which otherwise would have had little meaning for people living in a great city.

There were usually two purposes underlying these festivals —first, to appease any numina that might have been offended, and secondly, to put a place, or thing, or person under the protection of the god whose goodwill had been obtained by sacrifice. The appeasing of the numina was known as a *lustratio*, or cleansing from guilt. The whole people and the city were 'purified' in this way at regular intervals, just as were the Israelites by the laws of Moses. More often it was just a single family and its possessions and dependents that were 'purified', and on such occasions it was the head of the family, the paterfamilias, who acted as priest.

The festival known as the Parilia may be taken as revealing most of the characteristic features of Roman festivals. It was in honour of Pales, a very ancient spirit of the countryside, and therefore it takes us back to the early days of the settlement of farmers. The poet Ovid has given us a full account of the festival, with much picturesque detail, so that we can see it all very clearly in imagination. In the early morning the shepherds 'purified' their flocks and swept the ground clean with a broom made of twigs, afterwards decorating the folds with branches. A fire was made of olive-wood, juniper, pine twigs, and laurel, upon which sulphur was thrown. Offerings were made of millet, millet cakes, and a pail of milk warm from the cow to Pales. Prayers were offered to all and any of the spirits that might have been unknowingly offended, and petitions made for freedom from disease and misfortune. A special prayer was then recited four times, those who were taking part in the festival meanwhile turning to the east. Finally there was a twofold act of purification. The worshippers washed their hands in a running stream, and then leaped through fires made of lighted straw. The flocks and herds were also driven through the fires. In this festival of Parilia, we find purification, rustic offerings, and prayers for good fortune and fertility in fields and flocks—all the features of a typical Roman festival. Such festivals were observed, in letter if not always in spirit, long after the Romans had ceased to be a nation of farmers, but they served to remind the people of the old days of magic when they drew their living from the soil.

Another typical and picturesque festival of a similar kind was the Ambarvalia that was celebrated in May, just before the early harvests began. It was a family festival for the purification and protection of the farm lands from the evil spirits that dwelt outside.

All work was laid aside on the day of the festival, while the master and his servants made a procession three times round the fields, leading with them the animals appointed for sacrifice—a pig, a sheep, and an ox, a combination of offerings also used at other times and known as *suovetaurilia*, a compound of *sus*, *ovis*, and *taurus*. The special prayer offered to Mars is of interest because it shows so clearly the whole purpose of the festival. 'Father Mars, I pray and beseech thee that thou mayest be gracious and favourable to me, to my home, and to my household, for which cause I have ordained that the offering of pig, sheep, and ox be carried round my fields, my land, and my farm; that thou mayest avert, ward off, and keep afar all disease, visible and invisible, all barrenness, waste, misfortune, and ill weather; that thou mayest suffer our crops, our corn, our vines and bushes to grow and come to prosperity; that thou mayest preserve the shepherds and the flocks in safety, and grant health and strength to me, to my home, and to my household.'

The procession wound its way round the limits of the farm, with dancing, merry-making, and the singing of chants in honour of Ceres, the goddess of crops. At turning-points in the boundaries turf-built altars were set up, and on them sacrifice was made to the goddess. The head of the family acted as priest on this occasion as on many others. The purpose of the festival was not only to 'purify' the farm and to call upon the aid of Mars and, later, of Ceres, but also to mark the boundaries between the realms of Ceres and those of Silvanus, deities of the tilled and the untilled lands respectively. The Ambarvalia and the lesser festivals of purification of farm-lands were observed with more pious sincerity than most other festivals, since the meaning and purpose of them was still realized by those who took part. Strangely enough we find a survival of a similar idea in our own times. This is

SUOVETAURILIA

The second man from the left carries on his shoulder the axe

the 'beating of the bounds' of a parish, usually in early summer, at Rogation-tide (from the Latin *rogare*, to petition), when a procession goes round the boundaries, halting at certain points, where psalms are sung and a certain amount of horse-play takes place.

Almost every month brought to the Romans one or more festivals connected with agriculture in its many different forms. In August the harvests were gathered in and special festivals marked the happy event. The Consualia was the most important, when the sacrifices made at the underground altar of Consus, the god of the storehouse, were an echo of the primitive custom of storing grain underground. With a touch of feeling unusual in the austere Romans of a later age, they freed from work the beasts of burden that had worked to bring in the harvest as they had also done at the festival of Parilia.

Much of the spirit of our 'harvest home' is to be found in the merry-making of the Saturnalia, the winter festival of the sowing. The festival began on December 17th, and while it lasted social differences were forgotten. Slaves became the equal of their masters, whose guests they were at a feast, in much the same way as Society people of to-day often give a 'servants' ball' at Christmas, when the relative positions of master and servant are reversed for the time being. Many of our Christmas festivities are no more than an adaptation of this pagan festival of the Saturnalia to the use of Christians.

It remains to say something of the rites with which sacrifices were offered. First we must remember that a sacrifice was a bargain made with the deity whose goodwill was sought. Hence it was always necessary that no ceremonial detail should be omitted, that there should be no hitch or untoward mischance to mar the proceedings, or the slightest

departure from the strict rules governing the sacrifice. If any such irregularity did occur, it was thought necessary to start again from the beginning. In order to avoid this in the great public ceremonies, it was usual to sacrifice a pig the day before, to make good in advance any mistake or omission.

There were often special ceremonies connected with the worship of individual deities, but the general ordering of a sacrifice was much the same on all occasions. The sacrificial animal (*victima* if a large beast; *hostia* if a sheep or smaller) was led to the slaughter decorated with garlands and white ribbons, or with its horns gilded. In the procession to the altar, a crier went first to warn the people to leave their work and attend the ceremony. Next came musicians with pipes and harps.

Having reached the altar, the priest, who was always robed in white, rested his hand upon it, and first recited a solemn prayer in a low voice, his head being covered lest he should see anything of ill omen. The strictest silence had to be observed by all standing near and the pipers played all the while lest any sound of ill omen should be heard. After the prayer the priest began the ceremony of sacrifice by sprinkling on the head of the beast corn or frankincense mixed with the *mola salsa*, a cake of meal and salt. Then the priest sprinkled wine from a dish on to the head of the beast, after first sipping from the dish himself and then offering it to those who stood near. Next, having plucked some hairs from the head of the beast and thrown them into the fire on the altar, the priest marked the victim with a knife, and handed it over to those whose duty it was to slay it. When the animal was killed, its entrails were carefully removed and the auspices came to inspect them. If anything unusual was found, any blemish, it was necessary to begin again with another beast; but if all was well, the choicest parts of the

entrails were sprinkled with meal and wine and incense, and then thrown into the flames on the altar. More solemn prayers were recited, and then the multitude was dismissed with the solemn word *Ilicet* (=*ire*+*licet*). The sacrifice being finished, the priest and his assistants regaled themselves on the flesh of the victim.

XIX

THE GOVERNMENT OF ROME

THE government of Rome in the last century B.C. shows very clearly that the Romans disliked changes and that they clung loyally to the ways of their forefathers (*mores maiorum*). That being so, we must know something of the government of the early city in the days of the kings in order to understand the form of government at the time of Cicero and Julius Caesar. We must also remember that when Rome grew from a small settlement of farmers into a widespread 'empire' containing many different countries and peoples, the Romans tried to adapt the old system of government instead of devising an entirely new one.

In the earliest days of the City-State, the government was entirely in the hands of the king, who ruled the people in very much the same way as the *paterfamilias* ruled the family—that is to say, he was concerned with their welfare in all departments of the life and work of the city. His power, which was supposed to be unlimited and absolute, was called *imperium*, the name used throughout Roman history for the chief power in the State. The king had the power to punish; as a symbol of which bundles of rods, known as *fasces*, were carried by lictors before him and also before the magistrates of later days. (Similarly to-day the mace, which really is only a special kind of hammer, is carried before the mayor, i.e.

the chief magistrate of his city or borough, as a sign of his power to punish.)

The kings of Rome had three main duties. They had to deal with all questions concerning religion, with law and

LAW AND ORDER

A memorial to a Roman magistrate, showing his official chair (which is made to fold up like a camp-stool) and, on either side, the *fasces*

justice, and with warfare. Only in the last was the king's power really unlimited. In all religious matters the king was helped by the priests and by the augurs, about whom we have read in an earlier chapter. In all things concerning law and justice, the king had the advice of the Senate, a council of elderly men, experienced in public affairs, in much the same way as the Saxon kings of England were advised by the Witan, the council of the 'wise men'.

When the kings were driven out at the close of the sixth century B.C., the Romans tried to create a form of government that would involve the fewest possible changes but would at the same time prevent the misrule for which the kings were expelled. In the first place it was decided that no longer was the great power of the *imperium* to be in the hands of one man. It was still regarded as existing, but with this very important difference—it was now in the control of the whole body of the citizens; it had become a public thing (*res publica*); and all those who enjoyed the privilege of being Roman citizens were to have a voice in controlling the power by which they were governed. They had overthrown the kings and they would now control the rulers that took their place. It must always be remembered, however, that the old idea of an *imperium*, or supreme power, was still retained, but it had to be held in check to prevent its being misused.

In the first place, the highest rank in the government was to be held by two men, the consuls, who had equal power. Each could act as a check upon the other so that neither could become tyrannical. They were in office for one year only, during which brief time it would be difficult for them to make themselves too powerful. Moreover, they were elected by the people as a whole in their assemblies, and, like the presidents of most modern republics, when their year of office was ended they became private citizens once more, though they had a place in the Senate and might also be appointed to other public posts. However, the strongest check on the power of the consuls was the Senate, of whom we shall have more to say later in this chapter. Many senators had held some official rank in the government and they were able to give the consuls the benefit of their experience. While the consuls were not compelled by any law to accept the

advice of the Senate, they dared not disregard it. Though, as a general rule, the power of the consuls was limited in these various ways, in times of national peril the consuls were allowed, with the approval of the Senate, to appoint a dictator. A dictator held his office for a definitely limited period, but during that time he had unlimited power in all departments of the government and the army.

In addition to the consuls, there were other magistrates who shared some of the former duties and powers of the kings. Of these the praetors, like the consuls, had the full *imperium*. Their duties were to see to the carrying out of the laws and the control of justice. At first there was only one praetor in Rome, but by 242 B. C. so many foreigners were dwelling in the city or came there on business, that in that year a second praetor was appointed. He had to take charge of the legal affairs of foreigners in Rome. The original official was called the *praetor urbanus*; this new one, *praetor peregrinus*. As time went on and the 'empire' grew larger, the amount of legal business increased. To keep pace with this increase, more praetors were appointed, as in England the number of judges has been increased from time to time when need arose. Moreover, as new provinces were added to the Roman world, the governorship of them was often entrusted to praetors of these provinces.

The other important officials in the government of Rome were the censors, the aediles, the quaestors, and the tribunes. None of these had the full power of the *imperium*. Nevertheless, the censors filled a very honoured position in the city, and to be made censor was considered as the successful end of a public career. The censors were appointed for five years, but acted officially for only eighteen months. Their chief duties were—to draw up lists of the citizens and to supervise their conduct and behaviour; and, at the end of their period of

office, to carry out a solemn 'purification' of all the people, as we have described in an earlier chapter.

The aediles (who took their name from *aedes*, a house or building) had the oversight of all public works: they were, for instance, responsible for keeping the public buildings in repair, and cleaning the streets. The quaestors were officials who looked after the funds in the public treasury. They often had to go with the consuls when they went to war, to look after the money matters connected with the campaign.

The tribunes had great power, which had come about indirectly, and in the following way. In the very early days there were two classes of citizens, known as patricians and plebeians. The patricians were descended from the families who had made the earliest settlement; the plebeians belonged to the families who had settled in Rome in later times. At first the patricians had all the power of governing the city in their hands. They alone could be appointed to the public posts in the Republic. Yet the plebeians had the chief share in defending the city; so they naturally claimed a share in the government. The patricians would not grant their claim and a quarrel arose which lasted for many years. On one occasion the plebeians actually left Rome and threatened to make a fresh settlement. It was then, in 494 B. C., that the tribunes were first appointed. Their duty was to look after the interests of the plebeians, and of course they were themselves plebeians. They were required to keep a watchful eye on the actions of the Senate and of the magistrates; and if either intended to do anything against the welfare of the plebeians, the tribunes had power to forbid it. This was really a very great power, and used unwisely would hinder progress. However, one tribune could forbid the action of another, and as they did not always agree together, they weakened the

power of one another. (It should be noted that by the time that the struggle between the patricians and the plebeians was over, 337 B.C., every part in the government of the city had been thrown open to them. The first plebeian consul was elected in 367 B.C.)

In theory any Roman with full rights of citizenship might be appointed to the highest positions in the government, but in actual fact this privilege was restricted to certain favoured families. They were some of the best of the patricians and the plebeians, and it was quite the usual thing to find that all the near relations of an official had held government appointments before him. It was a bold man who sought to be elected to high office unless he belonged to this charmed circle of those who enjoyed senatorial rank. Cicero was one of the few who succeeded though he belonged to the lower order known as *equites*. At one time they were the class of citizens who provided the cavalry in the army, but by the end of the Republic they were a distinct social class (*ordo*), comprising chiefly the big business-men such as merchants, bankers, and moneylenders.

The magistrates held office for only short periods, as we have seen, lest they should become too powerful. But behind the frequently changing ranks of magistrates, the Senate went on unchanging. The result was that the Senate became more and more powerful, especially during the years when Rome was fighting for her existence against Carthage. Not only was the Senate permanent, but by the last century B.C. it was composed entirely of men who had held office and whose knowledge of affairs was of great value in guiding the State. The Senate was in fact, though not in name, the real government. At first the senators were chosen by the king; then by the consuls, and, still later, by the censors; but from the time of Sulla every man who had served as a quaestor (and that

was the first step in a man's public career) automatically became a senator.

Having said this much about the importance of the Senate, we shall not be surprised to find that the senators did a great deal of public work. They made the laws, directly or indirectly. A magistrate usually made sure of their favour before any bill was brought before the assemblies of the citizens. A decree of the Senate (*senatus consultum*) was equal to a law. The Senate controlled the money of the State, in its spending and even in making the coins, for the letters SC on coins showed that they were made by order of the Senate. The senators also dealt with questions concerning the government of the provinces. All matters of peace and war were really settled in the Senate, though the final decision rested with the citizens in their assemblies. In the best days of Rome the Senate was a fine dignified body of eminent citizens, worthy of their great city. No wonder was it that the messengers of the Greek king Pyrrhus described the Senate as an assembly of kings. In later times it became less worthy of honour and respect.

The Senate really did the effective work of government, though in theory this was supposed to rest with the magistrates and the people as a whole who appointed them. The people expressed their wishes in the various assemblies (*comitia*) in which they met together. These assemblies differed only in the way the people voted. It might be by tribes, or by centuries, or by *curiae*—the thirty divisions into which the whole people were grouped in the early days of the city.

The various assemblies were supposed to have the last word in deciding such important matters as the election of the magistrates or questions of peace and war. Actually the Senate made up their minds, and then put the question to the assemblies, who got into the habit of agreeing without

A ROMAN SENATOR

question. If there was likely to be any difficulty, there were various ways (of which bribery was one) by which the lower ranks of citizens could be won over to support any particular measure. Such methods were made all the more easy by the fact that the votes were taken by groups and not individually. When the assemblies agreed to a measure proposed by the Senate it became law (*lex*).

The greatest weakness of the rule of Rome was revealed in the government of the provinces. Misgovernment perhaps would be a better word. When a provincial governor was sent out to his province he had no set of rules for his guidance. He acted as he thought best. If he was a worthy man, well and good, but there were great temptations in the practically unlimited powers of a provincial governor. To hold a magistracy in Rome was a very expensive matter, and many provincial governors looked to pay their debts and make a fortune out of the taxes that could be squeezed from the unfortunate provincial subjects. They held office for only a few years at most and so had but little time to harvest their ill-gotten gains. Even Julius Caesar, when he was Governor of Spain in 61 B.C., made a fortune large enough to pay off all his huge debts in Rome. Cicero, on the other hand, amazed the people of Cilicia in Asia Minor when he showed himself an honest and mild ruler. Of course, if a provincial governor overstepped the wide limits that practice allowed, he might be put on trial in Rome when he returned, as was Verres, the ruffianly governor of Sicily in 71 B.C. But juries might be bribed unless the case was too bad to cover up, and the governors of provinces were seldom brought to book.

With the Empire, however, began a better time for the provinces. One of the greatest services that Augustus and his successors rendered to the world was that they gave good government to the provinces.

XX

THE ROMAN LAW-COURTS

In the earliest times the seat of justice in Rome was the Tribunal. This was a raised platform at one end of the Forum itself, where the praetor used to sit in his chair of state to hear both sides of any legal question in dispute between citizens. Round the platform there were seats for those interested in the case. This open-air court was quite typical of Rome, but long before the time of Caesar and Cicero the praetors had to have more suitable courts in which to hear cases. Hence in the last century B.C. justice was administered at Rome in the great basilicae near the Forum.

There were two praetors in the civil courts. One dealt with disputes between Roman citizens. The other dealt with cases in which foreigners were concerned. These two praetors had nothing to do with the trial of criminals. Their duty was to settle disputes between one citizen (*civis*) and another; so we say that they dealt with civil cases—disputes over land and contracts, and similar matters. In simple cases the praetor, after hearing both sides, was able to give his decision immediately. But in cases that involved knotty points of law he appointed an umpire (*arbiter*), summoned both parties to appear before him, and set forth the points of law involved. When the umpire gave his verdict the praetor had to carry it into effect.

When for any reason a case had to be put off to another day, the man who had brought the action into court called upon his opponent to give bail—i.e. to pay down a sum of money himself or find a friend who would do so, as a guarantee that he would appear in court at the next hearing.

If either of the two parties without good reason failed to put in an appearance when the case was resumed, the verdict was given against him.

Let us now turn to criminal trials. The method changed very much between the time of the kings and the end of the Republic. The kings had the right to try and to punish criminals themselves, on the same grounds as a parent has the right to punish his children. When the kings were expelled, the consuls took over this duty. But the pride of the Romans even at an early date led to the arrangement that a criminal might be tried only by his fellow citizens in one of their assemblies. A magistrate always acted as accuser; the evidence was heard by the whole body of citizens; and the final verdict was passed by the assembly in the same way as a law. (In this we are reminded of impeachments in English history, when the House of Commons acted as accusers, the Lords were the judges, and the verdict was set forth in an Act of Parliament.) This method of trial by the citizen assemblies was very inconvenient, and became more so as the number of citizens increased. Accordingly, in the last century of the Republic, a new method was adopted.

Courts were created to deal with different classes of crimes —e.g. one with treason, another with forgery, a third with murder, and so on. A *praetor* was appointed to preside in each court, and he had the assistance of a body of jurors, called *iudices*. There were six *praetors* to judge criminal trials, and, as they were appointed by the people as a whole in their assembly, their decision in all cases was final.

Let us now follow the stages of a trial. The jury was sworn in, and the case began. The facts were laid before the jury, sometimes in the form of documents, sometimes as spoken evidence of witnesses who had taken an oath to speak

THE TARPEIAN ROCK ON THE CAPITOL

as it is to-day

truthfully. The accused was allowed to bring in his friends to speak in his favour. They were called *laudatores* and might be anything up to ten in number. Slaves only gave evidence under torture, so what they had to say about a crime was always read out in court, having been written down beforehand. When all the evidence had been heard, the jury considered their verdict. Each man wrote down his judgement on a wax tablet and put it in an urn. The verdict of each juror was expressed by one of three letters: A, for *absolvo*, standing for Not Guilty; C, for *condemno*, standing for Guilty; and N.L., for *non liquet*, standing for Not Proven, as they say in the Scottish courts when the matter is open to doubt. The tablets were taken from the urn and the verdict was decided by the majority of votes. If the jury could not decide to condemn or acquit the accused, the judge announced the fact by the one word *Amplius*, meaning that the matter must be reconsidered more fully when more evidence had been obtained.

If the accused was guilty, the chances were that his punishment would not be particularly severe. This was partly because of the honourable position enjoyed by a Roman citizen—*civis Romanus sum* was a proud boast and one that carried great privileges for those who could claim it; or the accused might altogether escape punishment from the fact that he was not necessarily in court and might be able to make good his escape as soon as the verdict was announced. A Roman awaiting trial was not imprisoned; at the most he might be put in charge of one of the higher magistrates. Nor was he taken forcibly to court to be tried; we may remember how Cicero led by the hand into the Senate House a man who was a proved traitor at the time of Catiline's conspiracy. Paul made known his Roman citizenship, it will be remembered, when he was imprisoned at Philippi, and his gaoler, afraid

of the consequence of keeping a Roman in bonds, was anxious for him to be gone and to make no complaint.

Only for very serious crimes did a Roman forfeit his life, and then it might be by hanging, beheading, strangulation, or by being cast down from the Tarpeian Rock. For other offences a Roman might be exiled. He might go of his own free will to avoid more serious punishment; or he might be obliged to flee by being denied 'fire and water', the necessary things of life, if he remained on Italian soil. He might lose his freedom by being sold as a slave as the punishment for military offences, or for avoiding taxation, or for debt; but he was seldom, if ever, imprisoned, though the Senate might imprison a man if his liberty was thought to be dangerous to the State. The punishment might be a fine. If none of these was suitable there still remained what was known as *infamia*, by which a Roman lost some of his right of citizenship, especially the vote and often social rank. These were the ordinary punishments. They were not unduly harsh, and they were meted out after a trial that was in the main fair and just, though unfortunately money could easily be used to buy a verdict.

XXI

OUR DEBT TO ROME

ROME continued the greatest power in the world for a longer period than any other nation before or since. More than six centuries separate the humbling of Carthage in 204 B.C. from the overthrow of the Empire by the barbarians in the 5th century A.D. Compared with Rome, the British Empire is a mere baby—she has stood so far for only 150 years. France and Spain were the leading powers for less than a century

each. In the ancient world, Athens rose to greatness and then declined in less than one hundred years, and the Jews were a great nation for two generations only. Yet for twenty generations Rome was supreme—a period as long as that which separates us from the battle of Crécy. Small wonder, then, that even the barbarians who overthrew the Empire believed that Rome must remain for ever the centre of the world, while even to-day, after half a dozen later empires have risen and declined, we still call Rome the 'Eternal City'.

Necessarily Rome made a deep impression on the ways and minds of men. In this brief survey of everyday life in ancient Rome we have frequently noticed that Roman customs still survive in many departments of life, and especially in those countries, like France, that were under the direct and close influence of Rome for several centuries. But apart from innumerable customs and practices, Rome bequeathed to the world a great legacy from which we still draw benefits.

First of all we owe a debt to Rome for preserving and passing on to us the glories of earlier civilizations, especially that of Greece. Though the Romans went as conquerors they fell under the spell of Greece, and in many ways adopted Greek ideas. In this fashion these ideas were handed on to us, so that we owe to Rome a large part of our debt to Greece.

Secondly, the spread of Christianity was considerably helped by Rome. The new faith was founded just as the Empire was reaching its greatest extent. True it was at first an obscure and despised religion, practised in secret: but even so it spread slowly through the Roman world. Then came the recognition of Christianity—it became the official religion of the Empire and spread like fire to the farthest outposts, aided and quickened by the world-wide government that had adopted it. When the Empire was broken to pieces, the Christian religion survived to remind men of the universal

rule of the Caesars. The Popes took the place of the Emperors, and the Church remained, in the words of Hobbes, 'the ghost of the Roman Empire seated on the ruins thereof'.

Next we find that a large part of the civilized world of to-day derives its legal systems directly from the Romans. Their laws were hard but they were very just, and after the confusion caused by the barbarian conquests men turned with relief to the ordered impartial laws which were the basis of the *Pax Romana*. England, never more than an outpost of the Empire and never really colonized, is one of the very few countries that have not borrowed largely from the Roman legal system.

Again, there is the debt of the world to Roman engineering. The more this is studied the more striking is the fact that practically all of our modern engineering methods have been copied or developed from Roman models. To take a single instance—the Romans greatly excelled in bridge-building, and they were particularly successful in grounding the piers of their bridges under water. A study of Vitruvius, the great Roman authority on this subject, shows that there is scarcely a method in use to-day that has not its counterpart, usually a very close one, in Roman methods. These bridges that the Romans made seem to have been built to last till the end of time. In several countries where the Romans held sway, and particularly in France and Spain, there remain magnificent specimens of their bridges, some of them still in use after two thousand years. The Roman roads are perhaps better known in this country as an example of the Romans' skill in engineering. The whole Empire was covered, as we have seen, with a network of broad straight roads, all leading to Rome, for the use of armies, traders, couriers, and government officials. For the greater part of the Middle Ages they remained the only roads of any account; and to this day the

traveller will often chance upon a stretch of perfectly straight road along which the legions had marched.

Lastly there is the debt of language. All over Southern Europe the Romans planted their colonies and quartered their troops. In those countries, such as France and Spain, where the contact of conqueror and conquered was close and intimate, the tribal tongues were forgotten in the universal use of Latin. Local and historical reasons have brought changes into these different languages, but they remain close to their common prototype, and are all known as the 'Romance' languages to remind us of their source. In one country at least, Rumania, it is a matter of national pride for the people to look back to a Roman origin for their language. A further advantage followed from the universal use of Latin. It remained the language of all educated men throughout the Middle Ages. Intercourse was therefore much easier than when there is a language barrier; and though ideas stagnated somewhat during the Middle Ages, when the revival of learning came in the fifteenth century the wealth of new ideas could be shared by all educated men since they could express their thoughts in a language known to all, that is, in Latin.

We speak of Latin as a 'dead' language since it is not used as the everyday speech of any nation; but despite this there is every reason why it should be regarded as a most profitable study. Even an elementary knowledge of the subject will make us better and keener students of our own wonderful language, since the proportion of English words derived directly from the Latin, or indirectly through the 'Romance' languages, is a high one. True there has been a tendency since the middle of last century to get back to words of Saxon origin; and this tendency we cannot but applaud. In recent years, with the advance of science and modern discovery,

A ROMAN ROAD

The Appian Way leading south from Rome (see map, p. 12)

there has been the practice of going to the 'dead' languages (Latin and Greek) for the new vocabulary required.

Further, the study of a highly inflected language like Latin is valuable for English boys and girls whose mother tongue is almost without inflexions. Moreover, a grasp of Latin calls for clear thinking, and the study of it is a valuable form of mental exercise that helps the student towards a ready understanding of intellectual problems in general. Indeed, Matthew Arnold used to hold that no man might claim to be truly educated without a knowledge of the classics, and it has been proved again and again that a person brought up in the classical tradition can turn his hand readily to very different mental tasks.

APPENDIX I

bbreviations of *Praenomina* (see Chap. vi, p. 56):

A.	Aulus.	L.	Lucius.	S.	Sextus.
App.	Appius.	M.	Marcus.	Ser.	Servius.
C.	Gaius.	M'.	Manius.	Sp.	Spurius.
Cn.	Gnaeus.	P.	Publius.	T.	Titus.
D.	Decimus.	Q.	Quintus.	Ti.	Tiberius.

)ther common abbreviations:

A.U.C. (in dates)=*Ab Urbe Condita*: i. e. 'from the founding of the City' (753 B.C.).

HS.=*Sestertius*.

mp.=*Imperator* (similarly, Leg.=*Legatus*; Pr.=*Praetor*; Q.=*Quaestor*; &c.).

P.C.=*Patres Conscripti*, the title of the assembled Senate.

P.M.=*Pontifex Maximus*.

S.=*Salutem*
S.P.D.=*Salutem plurimam dicit* } (formulae for beginning a letter).

S.P.Q.R.=*Senatus Populusque Romanus* (the inscription found on the standards of the legions).

S.C.=*Senatus Consultum*; a decree of the Senate. These letters are found on all coins struck by command of the Senate.

Abbreviations of Latin words in use to-day:

a.m. =*ante meridiem* (before noon).
p.m.=*post meridiem* (after noon).
cf. =*confer*, compare.
e.g. =*exempli gratia*, for example.
etc. =*et cetera*, and the rest.
ibid.=*ibidem*, in the same place.
id. =*idem*, the same.
i.e. =*id est*, that is.
l.c. or loc. cit.=*loco citato*, in the place mentioned.
N.B.=*nota bene*, note specially.
P.S. =*postscriptum*, something written afterwards.
q.v. =*quod vide*, which see.
sc. =*scilicet*, namely.
viz. =*videlicet*, namely.
v. =*versus*, against.

APPENDIX II

MARCH	1st	Kalendae	Kal. Mart.
	2nd		a.d. vi Non. Mart.
	3rd		a.d. v Non. Mart.
	4th		a.d. iv Non. Mart.
	5th		a.d. iii Non. Mart.
	6th		Pr. Non. Mart.
	7th	Nonae	Non. Mart.
	8th		a.d. viii Id. Mart.
	9th		a.d. vii Id. Mart.
	10th		a.d. vi Id. Mart.
	11th		a.d. v Id. Mart.
	12th		a.d. iv Id. Mart.
	13th		a.d. iii Id. Mart.
	14th		Pr. Id. Mart.
	15th	Idus	Id. Mart.
	16th		a.d. xvii Kal. Apr.
	17th		a.d. xvi Kal. Apr.
	18th		a.d. xv Kal. Apr.
	19th		a.d. xiv Kal. Apr.
	20th		a.d. xiii Kal. Apr.
	21st		a.d. xii Kal. Apr.
	22nd		a.d. xi Kal. Apr.
	23rd		a.d. x Kal. Apr.
	24th		a.d. ix Kal. Apr.
	25th		a.d. viii Kal. Apr.
	26th		a.d. vii Kal. Apr.
	27th		a.d. vi Kal. Apr.
	28th		a.d. v Kal. Apr.
	29th		a.d. iv Kal. Apr.
	30th		a.d. iii Kal. Apr.
	31st		Pr. Kal. Apr.

The Roman method of reckoning the days of the month is set out fully in Chap. xii, on p. 99. To illustrate this in a specimen month, the calendar for March is here printed in full. In the second column are found the three chief days in the month, from which the other days were reckoned. It will be noticed that in March the Nones and the Ides fall irregularly on the 7th and 15th instead of on the 5th and 13th.

INDEX

(*Mainly of Latin terms*)

abacus 59, 60
acies 112
aedile 142
Aesculapius 21, 129
Aesop 58
Actium 19
agmen 109
Ambarvalia 133
Annus Bissextus 98
— *Confusionis* 98
Antony 18
Appian Way 12, 90, 155
arbiter 147
as 84
atrium 33, 34, 76
Augurs 130
Auspices 130, 137

ballista 114
barbari 87
basilicae 24
battering-ram 114
Boscoreale 40, 42
bulla 54, 65

Caesar, Julius 18, 21, 23, 24, 70, 88, 97, 109, 112, 146
Campus Martius 26
carceres 69
carpentum 94
Carthage 14, 16, 118, 151
Castor and Pollux 28, 66
castra 108, 109
catapulta 114
Catiline 150
Caudine Forks 14
censor 141
centurion 104
Ceres 66, 134
Cicero 63, 94, 124, 129, 130, 143, 146, 150
Cincinnatus 86
Circus Maximus 27, 29, 66
cloaca 19, 22
coemptio 73
cognomen 56
collegia 130
columbarium 79, 80
coloniae 14
Colosseum 28, 67
comitium 23, 144
conclamatio 76
confarreatio 73
Consualia 136
Consul 140
Cornelia 74
corona civica 118
Corsica 80
Curia 23, 144

Delos 88
denarius 84
Di indigetes 128
— *novensiles* 128
Diana 128
Dictator 141
Dies Fasti 100
— *Nefasti* 100
digiti 59

Emporium 82
equites 143
Etruscans 13, 22

fabula 70
factiones 69
familia 86
far 73
fasces 138
Forum Boarium 22, 81
— Olitorium 82
— Romanum 22

Genius 124
Gracchi 17, 74
grammatici 61
'Grand Tour' 93
gubernator 121

hastati 101
'heads or tails' 84, 85
Hermes 129
Hills of Rome 19, 30
hostia 137
Hymen 73

Ides 99
impeachment 148
impedimenta 109
Imperator 103
imperium 138, 140
infamia 151
inns 94
insulae 30
Isis 129

Janiculum 21
Janus 123, 125
Josephus 114
iudices 148
Jupiter 123, 126
Juturna, spring of 27

Kalends 99

lararium 36, 124
Lares 124
laudatores 150
lectica 95
legatus 103
Lepidus 18
lex 146
liber 62
libra 82
lictor 138
Lord Mayor's Show 116
Lucullus 63
ludi Circenses 66
— *magni* 65
— *plebeii* 66
— *scaenici* 66
lustratio 132

magister 121
Magna Mater 129
manes 75
maniple 101
manumission 89
Marius 18, 101, 102, 106
Mars 127
matrona 74
Mercury 129
miliaria 91
Miliarium Aureum 92
Minerva 128
mos maiorum 129, 138
munera gladiatoria 66

navis longa 120
Neptune 66, 129
nomen 56
Nones 99
numen 121, 126
nundinae 61, 100

Octavius 18
Ostia 20, 81, 83
Ovation 117

paedagogus 59
Pales 133
palla 54
Pantheon 27
pantomimi 70
papyrus 62
Parentalia 80
Parilia 133, 136
paterfamilias 49, 138
Patricians 22, 142
Paul, St. 65, 94, 96, 150
Pax Romana 90, 153
pecunia 82
Penates 124
phalanx 101
Philippi 18
Phoebus Apollo 129
pilleus 54, 90
Plebeians 22, 142
Pompey 18
Pons Aemilius 21
— Sublicius 22
Pont du Gard *Frontis.*, 92
Pontifex Maximus 130
Pontifices 130
-por 88
Porta Triumphalis 116
Porta Praetoria 110
praenomen 56
praetor 141, 148
praetorium 109, 110
primus pilus 103
principes 101
Puteoli 81
Pyrrhus 14

quaestor 141, 142
quaestorium 110

raeda 94
Regia 28
retiarius 71
rhetor 61
Roads, Military 20, 153
Romulus 28, 97
Rostra 23, 78
Royal Engineers, motto of 100

Sabines 26
sagum 53
Samnites 11
Saturnalia 61, 125, 136
scutum 104
secutor 71
Senatus 143
Senatus consultum 144
Servius Tullius 101
sestertius 84
Spartacus 88
spina 66
signum 110
Silvanus 122
stilus 62
[illegible] 54
Sulla 18
Suovetaurilia 134, 135

tabernae 24, 30
Tabularium 22
Tarentum 14
Tarpeian Rock 26, 149, 151
Tarquin the Proud 13, 22
Temple of Castor 27
— Concord 22
— Saturn 23
— Jupiter 26
— Vesta 28
testudo 112
Tiro 58
toga 52
tormenta 114
triarii 101
tribunal 69, 147
tribuni 103, 142
triclinia 49
triplex acies 112
trireme 120
tunica 51

Umbrians 12
uncia 84
uniforms 105

Verres 146
vespillones 76
Vesta 124, 125
Vestal Virgins 28, 125, 127
Via Appia 90, 91
— *sacra* 27
— *Salaria* 82
— *Latina* 14
viae munitae (*stratae*) 91
victima 137
Victoria Cross 118
Vitruvius 153
'volume' 62

water-clock 44
Witan 139

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY JOHN JOHNSON, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY